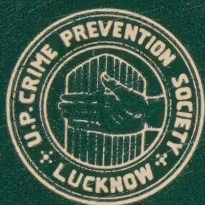


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PRESENT APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY*

MANUEL LOPEZ-REY

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It would seem that the present approach to juvenile delinquency, especially in the generally called highly developed countries, is in need of serious revision. Never in the history of mankind has so much been done for the well-being of human beings and more particularly for children, juveniles, and young people. Nevertheless, in spite of many efforts, a great deal of money spent, juvenile delinquency, with very few exceptions, is increasing in many countries, and more particularly in those considered as economically highly developed.

Are We Handling Delinquency the Right Way?

In view of the present situation the first question is: Are we doing the right thing? Are we approaching the problem of juvenile delinquency in the right way? On the basis of the statistics received in the United Nations one may reach the conclusion that in spite of the general improvement of living conditions in the majority of countries, juvenile delinquency is becoming more and more a serious problem. It is increasing rapidly and all this notwithstanding the fact that in many countries social services and the number of social workers continue to grow.

In a more general way, if we look at these statistics and take into account

not only juvenile delinquency, but crime and suicide, we can see that those countries which, in principal, are considered as the better organized societies have the higher rate of destructive acts. Perhaps it will be astonishing to some readers to know that if the figures of homicide and suicide are combined, the first five places go to Denmark, Switzerland, Finland, the United States, and Sweden. With respect to homicide, the United States occupies the first place and Italy the second. The third is Finland.¹ With respect to juvenile delinquency and young adult delinquency the more alarming increases have been observed in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Sweden. Although no official information is received, there is good reason to believe that this kind of delinquency is also a problem of concern in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Delinquency on the Increase in many Countries

The second question then is: Are all these countries as well organized as they believe they are in approaching the problem of juvenile delinquency? Several theories have been tried to explain why juvenile delinquency is increasing. It has been said that international tensions are one of the causes. This tension, however, is not felt by all countries and by all

*The opinions expressed are the author's and do not necessarily represent those of the Secretariat of the United Nations.

¹The author refers here to the Information gathered by the World Health Organization and used by E. Fromm in his book. *The Sane Society*, London, 1956.

groups within the same country in the same way and to the same extent.

It has also been said that war is the principal factor in the present increase of juvenile delinquency. But here again we should like to point out that in this respect countries have been diversely affected and in certain countries juvenile delinquency is increasing far more rapidly than in others that have been at war. For example, the war affected the United States in a lesser way than it affected France or Italy, but juvenile delinquency is increasing rapidly in the United States while in France, although in a fluctuating way, juvenile delinquency is decreasing. In Sweden, although admittedly a neutral country in a difficult position, juvenile delinquency is a far more serious problem than in Norway and Denmark, both of them occupied by the enemy.

By contrast, in those regions or countries in which the family is still the primary agency of social control and the population lives in conditions which cannot be compared with those more generally existent in the more generally highly developed countries, juvenile delinquency is not increasing in the same way. As examples, Spain and Argentina should be mentioned. It should be noted that Spain went through a civil war which in many respects was more destructive than any other kind of war.

Roughly stated, the characteristics of juvenile delinquency are at present the following: First, juvenile delinquency is increasing in extent. Slowly but steadily it is reaching every group and every aspect of the community in many countries. Secondly, it is increasing also in gravity. Juveniles and young adults are committing more serious crimes than in the past. Thirdly, juvenile delinquency is not restricted

any more to the urban populations. In some rural areas where living conditions still remain practically unchanged, delinquency is increasing. And finally, it is no longer confined to poverty areas of certain populations or regions. Young people of very well-to-do families are becoming juvenile offenders more frequently than in the past. If we take all this into account we can ask ourselves if the present approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency is the right one.

The answer to this question is that this approach, so heavily influenced by psychiatric and psychoanalytic theories and methods, is in urgent need of revision. The present approach is characterized by progressive identification of delinquency with other forms of nondelinquent behaviour. That is to say, we consider that juvenile delinquents are no more than maladjusted persons, and under the term maladjusted we include forms of juvenile behavior which in many cases are not delinquent; a tendency in the majority of countries to raise the upper age limit for juvenile offenders. One aspect of this trend is the category of young adult offenders. Such a division in age groups is purely artificial and facilitates the present growing lack of social responsibility not only among juvenile people but among adult people as well; and a widespread belief that the multiplication of welfare policies and programs constitute by themselves the most adequate means for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the treatment of juvenile offenders. Without denying the value of those services and programs as indirect deterrents, one has to consider the fact that in countries like Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States, where social services and programs are very well developed, juvenile delinquency is increasing more rapidly than in countries where these services

and programs are still in an embryonic stage. This raises the question not of reducing or suppressing these social services or programs, but of giving them a philosophical content at present apparently lacking. The question, then, is not the empirical multiplication of social services and their imitation by transplanting what is done in one country to another completely different country, but of providing these services and programs with a purpose other than the mere satisfaction of material needs. This nonmaterialistic purpose and content are closely related to the strengthening of moral and social values and rejects the present standardization of social welfare policies.

Delinquency Is Not Always Maladjustment

It would be extremely difficult to explain, within the limits of this paper, all these and related characteristics. Let us examine first the term "maladjustment." The truth is that the term, which was originally a term to express a particular situation of an individual, has now become a general theory. When we face a juvenile delinquent many psychiatrically minded experts say simply that he is, or she is, maladjusted. But maladjusted to what? The main problem we are facing is that we are treating a maladjusted people—people who, in fact, are not maladjusted at all. In order to explain this theory of maladjustment, it is said that the person is maladjusted because he is suffering from a complex or internal conflict and therefore he becomes an offender. This conclusion is the result of identifying two different things. As it has been aptly pointed out, in identifying tension between individuals with tension within the individual's mind, some psychoanalysts actually identify two different phenomena.

This erroneous identification has led to another one—that of identifying what is normal or abnormal in psychology with what is respectively normal or abnormal in sociology. The conclusion is simple, and this is that delinquency does not necessarily mean maladjustment. Actually, many delinquents are not maladjusted persons. Delinquency reflects more than anything else some of the prevailing patterns of life in a group or community. Again the question is, maladjusted to what? To family life, to community life, to cultural life, to religious life, to professional life? The truth is that nobody is adjusted to all aspects of life. More often than not we are maladjusted to a particular aspect of life, but reasonably adjusted to other aspects of our daily life. That is to say, if we take into account the dynamic character of life, adjustment—to be adjusted—is a continuous process. There is always a gap between the degree of our adjustment and the demands of everyday life. These demands may come from the family, from our professional activities, from our religious beliefs, etc. The fact is that all of us to a certain degree are in more than one respect always maladjusted. At every moment of our life we are facing the process of adapting ourselves. The conclusion is that maladjustment by itself cannot explain juvenile delinquency not only because some juvenile delinquents are very well adjusted to certain forms of environment but simply because we cannot determine the degree of maladjustment that at a certain moment leads to crime and delinquency.

When Does a Youth Become an Adult?

Another aspect concerns the upper age limit separating juveniles from adult offenders. Many years ago for penal purposes the age of a minor was

not beyond 8, 9, or 10 years. Under the influence of what has been considered as progressive theories the upper age limit of minor delinquents has been raised and raised again. We have in many countries now 14 years, 16 years, 17, 18, even 21, and, in a few countries, 23. More recently the trend is toward the upper age limit of 25. In order to justify this limit a new category of offenders has been created—that of young adult offenders—which, roughly speaking, embrace all offenders between 18 and 25 years of age. The general assumption is that below 25 years of age, people are still not mature enough and, accordingly, should be treated in a different way. Can we seriously assume that as a rule people under 23 or 25 years of age are unable to understand the nature of a criminal offense?

Let us assume that we say yes, that they do not have full maturity to understand the character of a criminal offense, even if it is a serious one. But we should not forget that in many countries these people, when they are between the ages of 18 and 25, are already married, some of them are engaged in technical or professional work, they are earning money and rearing a family, and if we want to be logical to the last degree, if we consider them maladjusted or immature when they commit rape, robbery, murder, or any criminal offense we should also consider them maladjusted when they do not pay the rent for the apartment or when they refuse to pay for their clothing, food, and furniture.

Up to now, curiously enough, we consider as maladjusted or immature people—and therefore socially not responsible people—those who commit even serious criminal offenses but we do not hesitate to bring the same people before the court when they refuse to pay what they have rented

or bought. We also are talking about the good results of mass education and mass communication; the logical conclusion would be that these facilitate the development of individual maturity and social responsibility. But, by maintaining that as a general principle persons under 25 years of age are lacking maturity, we are again faced with one of the most curious contradictions of our time. There is no doubt that this and other contradictions raised by the problem of juvenile delinquency might be prevented if the undue influence of psychiatric and psychoanalytic explanations of human behavior was curtailed.

From a demographic point of view this question of lack of maturity before being 25 years old leads to some rather unexpected conclusions. Among other cases which the writer could mention, reference is made here to that of one expert who was sent to an underdeveloped country to draft a new code dealing with juvenile offenders. This expert, who was very well acquainted with the new theories, tried to incorporate in the code the trend of raising the age limit to 21 years. In support of his point of view he mentioned what had been done in other countries, some of them highly developed. We discussed the matter at length and after some arithmetic calculations the result was that, taking into account the average span of life and putting aside those persons below 10 years of age, a little more than 52 percent of the population of that particular country would be considered, as a legal assumption, as maladjusted or immature and therefore in need of some immediate psychiatric and social assistance. Needless to say, such a conclusion did not correspond to facts and, moreover, was something which no country can afford.

Should Juveniles and Adults Live in Separate Worlds?

In support of the new trends it has also been said that minors live in a world of their own and should be treated accordingly. This statement is somewhat misleading if it is understood to mean that this world of their own is the only one which has to be taken into account. In fact, by keeping minors in their own world and confining them to it, we are not helping them. Sociologically, the important thing is not to stress the difference between these two worlds—the world of the minor and the world of the adult—but, as far as possible, to combine both of them, especially by bringing into the world of the minor as many fundamental values as possible which govern society, values that eventually the minor has to know, has to conform to, and has to respect.

Unfortunately, under the influence of some schools of thought—which stress that the first 5 years of the child are the decisive ones and in order to avoid aggression and conflict all the needs of the child should be satisfied—the child's world has been regarded as the primary one around which the other should revolve. It is true that these 5 years are important but without denying the formative and therefore great importance of these 5 years, the policy of separating child and adult worlds has been, and still is, one of the most powerful contributing factors to juvenile as well as adult delinquency. The assumption that after living in a world of their own and being treated accordingly, where practically everything is tolerated or condoned, juveniles will all of a sudden be transferred to the adult world and behave like adults is simply illogical. The artificial separation of these two worlds by specially stressing as the main guiding principles that of the satisfaction of the needs of the minor may explain to a great extent the increase of juvenile delinquency in certain countries. Need can be satisfied only to a limited

extent. Therefore, the theory that by satisfying all his needs the child is going to be happier and later on able by himself to lead a normal life seems to be in need of revision.

It also would be illusory, then, to console oneself by repeating that juvenile delinquents constitute a minority only. This is fortunately true, but it should be said that as far as social problems are concerned minorities play a decisive role and, more often than not, not only reflect some patterns of life but also in turn introduce new ones. Therefore, without advocating that juveniles should be treated like adults—among other reasons because not all adults can be treated as such—juveniles should be taught that eventually they will be adults and as a general rule will be treated accordingly. The juvenile world should be considered as a preparatory stage to adulthood. By advocating that in the juvenile world so many needs should be satisfied in order to prevent present and future tension and conflict, juveniles are led to the greatest conflict of their lives—that of passing suddenly from a rather fictitious world of their own to what is expected to be more reasonable one.

This separation of two fictitious worlds, where actually there is only one as far as minors and adults are concerned, has been enlarged by the failure of family functions in many countries. Parental roles and responsibility are rapidly vanishing, especially in the highly developed countries. In these, more than anywhere else, the school and social service are expected to perform some of the functions historically performed by the family. Will they succeed? As things look at present some serious doubts are in order. This ought to be taken into consideration by those underdeveloped countries so anxious to imitate, in this and other

respects, the so-called highly developed countries.

Dual System of Moral and Social Values

The problem of crime and delinquency is not a minor one. The number of offenders may be considered as minor, but it would be contrary to sociological experience and knowledge to evaluate a social problem numerically and not for what it reflects as part of a more general pattern. The question is whether or not in certain countries juveniles are not trying to prepare themselves according to their own conception of the world. In this respect, we should not forget that in some of these countries, adults have not only failed, for a variety of causes, in their parental roles, but also have been behaving in accordance with a dual, sometimes contradictory, system of moral and social values. They have been preaching or asking one thing and doing something different. Needless to say, not all the people of a particular country have in this way but, as stated, it suffices that some groups behave in just this way with the result that social problems arise.

In his study of the problem of juvenile delinquency, the writer has sometimes had the feeling that in certain countries the question is no more a problem of determining factors but one of attitudes. By being delinquent, many juveniles already are protesting against the way adults are building their world for them. If such were the case, the present approach to juvenile delinquency would be mostly useless, because, among other things, young adult offenders would be far more mature than we think they are. In this respect, the case of Sweden might offer a good field for new experiences and approaches. Sweden is considered by many as the welfare state. The writer has had the privilege of visiting the

country on several occasions and getting acquainted with its programs and policies. There is no doubt that in many respects Sweden is ahead of many countries and that her standard of living is one of the highest. On the other hand, Sweden has been facing for several years a steadily increasing problem of juvenile delinquency. None of the explanation given seems to be satisfactory. The conclusion would be that juvenile delinquency is not an isolated problem, but something which reflects the total structure of a community or society, or even a country. It so, the question of juvenile delinquency is part of a more general question—what kind of juveniles we want to have. What kind of man should the family, the school, the community prefer? The man who, facing conflict or difficulty, looks around and says: What can be done to help me? Or the man confronted with the same difficulty or conflict, does not look around but says to himself: What I can do to help myself? And that, in the writer's opinion, is the problem which lies at the origin of juvenile delinquency in some countries, especially those highly developed.

Are Medico-Psychological Theories Valid?

Man has to live in accordance with some moral and legal principles. However, in the last decades some medico-psychological theories have been denying, if not the validity, at least the primary importance of these principles. This unsatisfactory trend is nothing more than the result of explaining, from a medico-psychological point of view, any form or aspect of human behavior—in our case that of the juvenile offender.

But to explain does not necessarily mean to justify. The justification is given not by psychiatry or psychoanalysis but by a system of values in

which morals and law play decisive roles. When a person arrives late, he explains why he was late, but the explanation is not by itself valid unless it appears justified by the ensemble of circumstances, many of which have nothing to do with the delay itself. In another order of things, the same applies to juvenile delinquency. This is being explained by an array of theories mostly having a medico-psychological character. Even assuming that all of them are correct, which is not always the case, they still would have only an explanatory character and purpose. Life cannot be governed by explanatory theories but by a system of values. If these are inadequate we should replace them by new ones but not by scientific explanations, whatever their value. No doubt there is a connection between the progress of science and the formation of moral and social values, but there again this connection, which facilitates the evaluation of social values, cannot be replaced by medico-psychological overgeneralizations.

The conclusion then, so far as the so-called highly developed countries are concerned—the less developed require in many respects a different kind of consideration—is that the problem of juvenile delinquency cannot be solved by the present biased professional approach but rather by appraising the existing system of values and therefore those fundamental laws, criminal or otherwise, representing them. No doubt some of the prevailing social values are outdated and do not correspond to new collective as well as individual attitudes. This transformation and replacement of values is a sociological and political task in which medico-psychological contributions, although important, are not the only ones to be considered. On the basis of past and present experience it seems quite clear that such a task cannot be accomplished by the rather short-sighted present policies and programs against crime and, more particularly, against juvenile delinquency.

RECIDIVISM IN UTTAR PRADESH

B. R. KISHORE.

Recidivism is a disposition or tendency to relapse into crime. The question of relapsing into crime thus presupposes that its perpetrators should have been subjected earlier to some sort of peno-correctional treatment. They should have been subjected to some sort of action on the part of some agency or the other of criminal justice, i.e. either the police, the courts, the jails or the reformatories. Without the intervention of one of these agencies of criminal justice in the criminal career of an individual, a perpetrator of crime, though he may in fact be a habitual offender, is not covered by the statistics of recidivism*

The problems of recidivism have been a subject of good deal of discussion both among the research workers on social problems as well as among the administrators in almost all the advanced countries of the world. They are almost a challenge to our existing system of criminal justice, as it could be expected that after the perpetrator of crime has been punished according to law, he will leave his anti-social behaviour and submit to the laws of the

land as a good citizen. From almost all the data available on record which shall shortly be discussed below, it is observed that that has not been the case. A very large percentage of perpetrators of crime have been found relapsing into their criminal careers only within a short period after the expiry of their peno-correctional treatment. High rates of recidivism carries with them a very simple yet very profound implication namely that the tendency towards delinquency is deep rooted in the perpetrators of crime and the mills of justice might have only temporarily retarded their journey on the path of crime. They also emphasise the great need for starting the correctional programmes for the perpetrators of crime much earlier in their careers at a stage when they might have shown delinquencies for the first time which might have been scoffed at either being childish or devoid of free will†. It may here be added that the fact that a perpetrator of crime already subjected to peno-correctional treatment has relapsed into crime should not be taken as an out-right failure of such a treatment as conditions out-side may exert irresi-

*In legal parlance only those perpetrators of crime are termed as habitual offenders who have been found guilty of successive crimes by a court of law. These persons who though might have come to the notice of the police in the commission of several offences and are strictly speaking habitual offenders are not termed as such. The statistics on recidivism includes habitual offenders declared as such by law.

†This problem has been very aptly put in the following words by Gluecks in their book "After-Conduct of Discharged offenders", "The implication for the criminal law of the early anti-social maladjustment of so many offenders who later become "hardened criminals" is to be found in the realisation that only a few years later we condemn and punish the very acts formerly comprising mere childish maladjustment or juvenile delinquency, or others clearly growing out of them in a natural course of development, as crimes for which the now adult offender, because he acted with "Criminal Intent" is regarded as unquestionably "guilty" fully responsible and deserving of punishment". (Page 96).

stable pressures on the feeble-minded. Similarly the fact that such a person does not relapse into crime should not unnecessarily be taken as the success of the peno-institutional care which he had in the past. His refraining from further crime may actually be having no particular relation with his peno-correctional treatment. The practical question arising out of a study of recidivism in any particular area will thus boil down to the fact whether by changing and improving on what is now done, is it possible to increase the proportion of those who may not relapse to crime. Attempts to view recidivism as a failure or success of the present peno-correctional treatment may neither be appropriate nor are expected to lead us to truth.

Recidivism should also not be allowed to act as a guide to our thoughts on the need or otherwise of the reformatory processes to make criminal a law abiding citizen. The justification of punishment as an important instrument of reformation of the offender has come to stay and is widely recognised by the jurists, administrators and social thinkers alike. Though adequate rehabilitation of criminals may be difficult to achieve in practice, yet the contribution of reformatories with a programme of work, education, recreation and religious services, of wall-less prisons, of the systems of conditional release and parole before the expiration of the sentence, of probation service and of granting leave to prisoners for their agricultural operations and even of the indeterminate sentences towards the ultimate settling down of a convict in the law abiding society cannot be

over emphasised. These rehabilitative processes are a natural outcome of the growing realisation that as social phenomena like crime are imbedded in the texture of our society and the result, inter-alia, of many complex social factors, it is the duty of the society itself to decriminalise the crime perpetrators. Prisons as important peno-correctional instruments of society have themselves under-gone many changes during the last few decades. Some authors believe that the prisons even now with all their changed environments may in fact be doing more harm than good to the cause of correctional administration as they might be leading to further degradation of prisoners and to their plunging further to crime (.)

Data on recidivism

While clear and unequivocal actual information is not available on the after-discharge conduct of persons who have been the subjects of peno-correctional institutions, all the available follow-up studies on inmates of certain reformatories and prisons in United Kingdom and U.S.A. as well as other official statistics go to suggest that a very large proportion of such persons again return to criminality.

The following data on recidivism has been summarised out of these studies to give us some statistical idea about this proportion in those countries (*)

- (a) Of all persons arrested in United States whose finger prints have been cleared with the F. B. I. over 60% have been arrested before and finger-printed.

(.) In fact some social thinkers have gone to the extent of viewing the entire punishment apparatus of criminals as an important cause of retarding their rehabilitative process. Some have raised the question whether the fine and imprisonment of a criminal do not fall more heavily on criminals' wife and children than on himself.

(*) Theoretical criminalology by George B. Vold page 294 to 295.

(b) About 75% of persons who are committed to jails and work houses in United States have previously committed to some type of penal correctional institution. About 55% of persons received into States and Federal prisons and Reformatories in United States had previous experience with institutional rehabilitation. Follow up studies of Glueck on reformatory inmates reveal that almost 60% to 80% involve in a crime again within 5 years after release.

(c) In England, over-all recidivism rate for period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after release from English Borstal Institutions was found to be 55% of those released.

This high proportion of recidivism in these countries give some indication of the extent of non-rehabilitation of the prisoners. As has already been mentioned above this extent of non-rehabilitation should largely be treated as the failure of society to correctly absorb its own one-time delinquents in its frame work. It is doubtful if it could be used as an index of the failure of criminal justice in preventing the

offenders from continuing their criminality.

Data on recidivism in U. P.

There is no published data in our knowledge on the after-conduct of the prisoner in the Indian prisons, including the States. No data is also available regarding the conduct of juveniles or first offenders after their probation period or their term in the reformatory is over (&). Unsuccessful probationers can hardly give any clue to the after-conduct of the probationers as a class. In fact such figures are greatly deceptive and follow-up studies in other countries have shown just the reverse of what is indicated by them. In this State also the figures of successful probationers during the 10 years period 1947 to 1956 indicate that only 5% of probationers, who completed their probation period, were unsuccessful. For 5% probationers, their probation was terminated in appeal etc. and 90% of the probationers completed their period successfully (.). These figures which relate to the conduct of the probationers during the probation period only cannot be depended upon in any study of recidivism (£).

(&) Some figures regarding the conduct of probationers after their probation period are given in the annual report for 1945-46 of the U.P. Discharged Prisoners Aid Society. It appears from this report that Probation Officers in those days were required to submit a report on the subsequent history of all ex-probationers every 6 months regarding their conduct, mode of life and employment. The figures given therein indicate the condition of 1248 prisoners as on 31st December 1945 (The probation scheme came into operation in this State in 1939) and show the following :—Conduct satisfactory and employed 81.3% ; conduct unsatisfactory 5.50% ; untraceable, dead or acquitted on appeal etc. 13.50%. The validity of these figures is very doubtful as no systematic followup study seems to have been undertaken by the Probation Officers. After these figures no data regarding the after-conduct of the probationers has been collected by the Probation Organisation.

(.) In all about 6400 probationers completed their training during 1947 to 1956. From the statements published in the Annual Reports of the Chief Probation Officer, U. P. it appears that only 40% of these probationers were unemployed at the expiry of their probation period while 96% out of them were employed. These figures show the position as it existed just after the expiry of the probation period during which time every probationer is extraordinarily cautious not to give any cause of complaint to the Probation Officer. What happens to the probationer after his probation term is over has not been studied so far in this State.

(£) In United States also it was continually claimed that 90% or more of parolees were success. Glueck's followup studies amply demonstrated the gross exaggeration of such Official claims (After Conduct of Discharged Offenders by Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck).

Finger Print Records

The past finger print records of convicts which are maintained in this State by the Finger Print Bureau in Allahabad can, however, throw some light on the extent of recidivism in this State. Under section 3 of the Indentification of Prisoner's Act fingerprints of a person who has been convicted for an offence punishable for one year or more of imprisonment can be preserved by this bureau. Within this general provision the bureau has framed its own rules contained in the Fingerprint Manual for the maintenance of record. At present it keeps fingerprint records of all offences against property, offences against persons involving some gain, persons sent up by the police under the preventive sections of law i.e. 109 and 110 Cr. P. C. and many other categories of convicts under the Excise, Railway, Arms other Acts. Record slips for convicts are sent by the districts of convictions to the bureau for record in respect of persons falling within the fingerprintable categories. The bureau also receives finger print slips for record from other States. Such slips pertain to persons who have been convicted in those States but who may be residents of U. P. or may be having associations here. Statement 'A' shows the proportion of the record slips of re-convicts to the total number of record slips indexed by the Finger Print Bureau, Allahabad. It will appear from this statement that during the four year period from 1955 to 1958 for which figures were available in detail, 20.8% of the Fingerprintable convicts in this State were re-convicts. This average percentage varied from 18.8% in 1957 to 22.9% in 1955. This percentage is in respect of the record slips received from districts of this State as well as from outside the State. For U. P. convicts, figures could be available only for the period from 1955 to 1957. During these three years the average percent-

age of re-convicts to the total number of convicts is 21.3. This percentage varied from 18.2 in 1957 to 23.1 in 1955. For record slips received from outside the State also the proportion of re-convicts to convicts has been almost the same, it being 22% and the yearly variations too follow almost a uniform pattern.

These figures pertain to the record slips of all persons including those bound down u/s 109 and 110 Cr. P. C. It may be that the proportion of re-convicts among persons who are bound down under these preventive sections of law may be much more than in respect of other offences. As the finger print records are not classified offence-wise, it was not possible to separately find out the proportion of re-convicts to total number of convicts for individual categories of offences in this State. To study this problem, figures of convicts and re-convicts who were convicted for offences of dacoity, burglary, cheating and thefts in 1957 and 1958 in this State were collected from the districts. Statement 'B' consolidates this data which covers more than 10,000 convicts each in 1957 and 1958 and represents almost 50% to 60% of the persons of fingerprintable categories. It shows that only 12.5% of the total number of persons convicted in 1957 and 13.5 in 1958 for these offences were re-convicts. This percentage, however, varies from one category of offences to another.

The above data indicate that out of every five persons whose record slips are sent to the U. P. Finger Print Bureau for record and 7 persons who were actually convicted by courts in U. P. in 1958 for offences of dacoity, burglary, cheating and theft, one was a reconvict. Though this does not seem to be a very gloomy picture as far as recidivism is concerned, the data falls short of many things. It pertains

only to persons who are found guilty by a court of law for a second subsequent offence. A substantially large number of criminals who relapse into crime are not arrested either because they are absconding or the police do not have sufficient clues to warrant their arrest. Even if they are arrested on reasonable suspicions, they may ultimately be released by the police as there may not be sufficient evidence for their prosecution, they may not be found guilty by the court. Thus before such a person is included in this data, he should have been detected prosecuted and convicted (*).

There is one more index of recidivism available in the records of Finger Print Bureau, which though may give a fuller picture of its magnitude, yet has its own short-comings. The figures of traced out slips provide such an index. Whenever a person is arrested by the police and they are not sure about his antecedents and previous convictions, a search slip is sent to the F.P. Bureau for tracing out the subject in its records. Statement 'C' gives the number of search and traced out slips in certain year since 1926. It will appear from this statement that in recent years (average 1954 to 1958) 40.23% of search slips received by the bureau from the U. P. districts were traced out i.e. their subjects had previous convictions. During the thirties this percentage was only 27 (average of five years from 1926 to 1930). The yearly variations from the average during the respective periods are minor and the average seems to be sufficiently representative of the trend. The increase in the ratio of traced slips from 27% to 40% is significant and substantially enough as not to be explained simply by the fact of increase in the records collection of the Finger Print

Bureau during this period. It is indicative of the trend of increasing recidivism. The standards of crime detection and basic facts about the machinery of criminal justice in this State are almost the same now as they were in the thirties and this increase appears to be largely attributable to an increasing disposition of the criminals to relapse into crime. How far the abolition of registration and surveillance measures over the earstwhile criminal tribes consequent to the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1951 is responsible for this increasing disposition, should be an interesting problem for the law-enforcement agencies to ponder.

There appears to be no reasons to suggest that the proportion of recidivists among those for whom search slips are issued by the police, is different from what it may be for those who are known to the police. However, before taking the ratio which the traced slips bear to the search slips as denoting the extent of recidivism, it may be relevant to point out that many search slips are issued in respect of persons against whom action is proposed by the police under the preventive sections of law. Further many slips might have also been issued in respect of persons who were earlier suspected by the police but on later investigations they might not have been found responsible for a crime. Such persons may or may not be recidivists and to that extent the ratio should be exaggerating the real position. As we do not have any detailed data to exclude this exaggeration, we should be quite content with a little guess work.

From the foregoing data on recidivism, we may not be far wrong in

(*) In U. P. about 80,000 persons are arrested every year by the police and about 33,000 to 34,000 persons convicted. Thus almost 40 to 42% of persons arrested by the police are convicted.

concluding that out of every three to four perpetrators of crime, in U. P. one is a recidivist. The increase in recidivism during the last thirty years is amply clear from the data on traced slips. Though it may be a little adventurous to say with some definiteness about the extent of this increase, yet it can safely be stated that the increase should have been quite substantial. Compared with the data on recidivism in U.S.A. or U.K., the conditions in this State appear to be favourable. But with the curve of recidivism having an upward trend, the position may become as bad as in those countries in course of time, unless some definite steps are taken promptly to retard it.

Though formulation of a rehabilitative programme to meet recidivism does not strictly fall within the scope of this paper yet it will not be out of place to discuss here in brief as to what is being done at present about it so that the basic needs of future policy in this regard may be better understood. In this State besides the routine functions of the police comprising of beat duty, surveillance over criminals, detection of crimes and prosecution of criminals and detention work undertaken by the prisons there has been only a little progress towards setting up of modern rehabilitating processes both for juveniles and adults.

Measures to meet Juvenile Delinquency

As has already been mentioned above, recidivism by its very nature can be effectively faced only when

attempts at the rehabilitation of a delinquent are made at the earliest possible stage when his delinquency comes to notice. Once the anti-social behaviour becomes a matter of habit and the delinquent also begins to derive some pecuniary or other advantages out of it, he adopts a criminal career and becomes a recidivist. It seems, therefore, necessary to curb down his anti-social tendencies at the very first stage. This can be done only either at the school, family or mohalla level. To help the teachers, guardians or other well wishers of a delinquent Child Guide Clinics, Boys Clubs and Juvenile Aid Bureaus etc. are necessary. In this State a beginning has now been made by establishing two Child Clinics in Agra and Varanasi only recently. Needless to say much more efforts on an extensive scale are needed to show positive results regarding juvenile delinquency (*)

Probation service

With a view to prevent the first offenders, particularly juveniles, from coming into contact with hardened criminals under going sentence in the jail, the First Offenders Act was passed in this State in 1938 (†), and probation service came into existence in 1939. Under section 3 of this Act first offenders found guilty of minor offences can be released by the court only after admonition, under section 4 (1) first offenders who are found guilty of offences not punishable with death or transportation for life can be released on probation of good conduct with or without surities and under

(*) At present even no reliable data about the extent of this delinquency is available in this State. A survey of juvenile delinquency either by State agency or by social institutions may first of all be necessary to formulate a definite programme for juvenile delinquency.

(†) Earlier than this a provision empowering courts to release certain first offenders on probation of good conduct instead of passing a sentence against them, existed u/s 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code 1898. Much use of this provision does not seem to have been made.

section 4 (2) if the persons who are so released, are of less than 24 years of age to further place them under the supervision of a Probation Officer who is charged with the duty of ensuring that the conditions of supervision as laid down in the court's order are carried out. In passing orders under this Act the court is expected to keep in view the age, character, antecedents, physical and mental condition of the offender, circumstances of the commission of the offence and the expediency or otherwise of sending him to jail. For this purpose the court can ask for a report on these points from the Probation Officers who have been appointed upto this time in this State only in 18 districts where the provisions of section 4 (2) of the U.P. First Offenders Act are in force.

On an average about 4000 persons are released by the court under section 3 and 4 (1) of the U. P. First Offenders Act annually (£). Under section 4 (2) of this Act about 800 persons are dealt with annually(+). Thus about 5000 first offenders annually get the benefit of this Act. Compared with the total average number of convicted persons for offences not punishable with death or life imprisonment which comes to about 20,000 it will appear that the benefit of this

Act has been given to a substantially large proportion i. e. about 25%, of the convicts. As no follow-up studies have been made in their after-release conduct it is not known as to whether the favour done to them by law has been amply justified. It will greatly facilitate the formulation of anti-recidivism programmes in future if some follow-up studies into the conduct of person released under this Act are under-taken either by a State agency or by the social and educational institutions.

Though the working of the U. P. First Offenders Act has covered a substantially large proportion of offenders, yet it is not certain as to how far it has really been successful in preventing contacts of juveniles and first offenders with the jail inmates. The question of releasing the offender either after admonition or on probation of good conduct arises only when the court has considered all evidence against him. Earlier than that the police might have already sent him to jail and it might not be earlier than two or three months that the judgement is actually passed by the courts (*) In this connection it may be useful to consider the following questions:—

(£) During the 10 years' period from 1946 to 1955 10,963 offenders below 24 year's of age and 11,571 offenders above 24 year's of age were released after admonition u/s 3 of this Act. Under Section 4 (1), during the same period 8792 offenders below 24 years of age and 9369 offenders about 24 years of age were released on probation without placing them under the supervision of Probation Officers. Thus in all 40,014 first offenders were dealt with under these two sections during these 10 years.

(+) During the 10 years period from 1947 to 1956, 7866 probationers were placed under the Probation Officers by the court. The number of new probationers increased from 218 in 1947 to 1342 in 1956. This number has further increased now. The increase has been largely due to the fact that the scheme was extended from time to time to new districts. In 1947 the scheme operated only in 8 districts. In 1948 it was extended to 4 more districts and in 1950 to another four more districts. One district was added in 1954 and another in 1956.

(*) To avoid delay in the disposal of cases the courts generally ask the Probation Officers to report about previous history and antecedents etc. of the first offender as soon as his case reaches the court. It takes the Probation Officer some time before he is actually able to submit a detailed report.

- (a) Whether summary trials by the courts in respect of at least minor offences by first offenders are more appropriate.
- (b) Whether the probation Officer should start his own enquiries regarding the antecedents, previous history, his family life etc. of the first offender simultaneously with the police investigation.
- (c) Whether the Probation service itself be not made a part of the police machinery.

The Probation service in this State is in operation only in 18 districts so far. The utility of the First Offenders Act will greatly increase if the probation service is available in all the districts. The very high percentage of successful probationers atleast indicates that during the probation period they have been observing great restraint which might ultimately exercise a powerful influence on their future life.

Definite improvements in prison life also have been affected in this State during the last two decades. It is not possible to enumerate all these improvements within the limited scope of this paper. The successful experiment of open air prisons, grant of leave to prisoners for agricultural operations, establishment of model prisons, vocational training to prisoners should have greatly influenced the capacity of the prisoners to resist temptations of criminality and to make them more suited to face the vagaries of a competitive life outside prison. However, in the absence of proper follow-up studies, it is not possible to statistically assess the value of these improvements.

While theoretically every prisoner may have possibilities of rehabilitation, it has been established by studies in

foreign countries that some proportion of every prison population would have to be classified in a "very poor risk" category as far as rehabilitation goes. Similarly there is a sizable group of prisoners who are psychologically disturbed. Many more belong to the group of unskilled and uneducated class. Some others belong to professional groups of racketeers and some others may be white collar criminals. Obviously the rehabilitative needs of each one of these groups should be considerably different from one another. At present no classification programme for criminals according to their treatment or rehabilitative needs functions in the prisons in this State. Authorities charged with prison administration may do well in devising some methods of classifying the criminals so that they may be able to adopt their work and training programmes accordingly. Introduction of religious services in the prisons may also prove to be a very useful instrument of curbing down recidivism.

After care of Discharged Prisoners

Much more important than all these factors taken together in the field of recidivism is the after-care of the discharged prisoner. If he does not find an atmosphere around him conducive enough to his settling down, the benefit derived by him from the peno-correctional treatment will be nullified. It may be mentioned that bulk of the delinquents are essentially feeble-minded and it will be too much to expect from them to resist outside pressures retarding their rehabilitation. No substantial work seems to have been done in this regard in this State. The District Crime Prevention Societies which were earlier known as Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies do not appear to have achieved much in this direction as is apparent from their annual report. Only a very negligible

portion of their budget seems to have been spent for the relief to prisoners and for running the Discharged Prisoner's Homes which some societies have established in some districts (*). Even the government aid which is given to the State Crime Prevention Society does not appear to have been utilised towards the after-care of discharged prisoners. It is in this direction that the social institutions as well as the State can make the greatest contribution in decriminalising the offenders. Grant of land for cultivation, opening of cottage industries on a co-operative basis for the ex-prisoners on some extensive scale, giving them jobs atleast in state-aided institutions and subjecting them to continuous care for a period of atleast five years after their release should go a long way in rehabilitating them firmly in society.

Police role in the Prevention of Recidivism

Crime prevention and detection are the two premier services that a well-organised police force is enjoined to perform. This loads us to the question as to how far the police should engage themselves with the task of rehabilitating a criminal or from preventing him in indulging into anti-social acts at a time when he was only juvenile. In this connection it will be appropriate to re-iterate the main police function of combating crime. A police man fights crime and criminality and not the criminals. His duty is to uproot crime but not the criminals. Actually all data regarding recidivism firmly confirm that crime can be uprooted or minimised only by rehabilitating the criminals. While awe and fear of being detected will always weigh heavily with the criminals in

their criminal activities, the basic factors leading to crime must not be forgotten. It is here that the police should be actively associated with any programme of crime prevention and social rehabilitation of criminals. The following factors may be considered in deciding the extent and the type of association which the police should have with such a task.

- (a) Perpetrators of crime are a headache of the Police force as their efficiency lies in curbing down crime. Other social and State agencies, though very vitally interested in the general welfare of the Society as such, do not come in contact with offenders to such an extent as the police. Their efficiency is judged neither by the magnitude of crime nor by the extent of the non-rehabilitation of crime perpetrators.
- (b) Whatever rehabilitation of criminals may have been done by social and other Government agencies, in actual practice the ex-convict has to satisfy the local police agency about his mode of livelihood and clean living. This is necessary to avoid probable suspicion on him after some crime has occurred. Even for other purposes like obtaining some social benefits, the fact that the police has no complaint against him will help him considerably.
- (c) The police through its net work of police stations, outposts and beat constables is in a far superior position than other

(*) The State Crime Prevention Society spent only Rs. 5000/- on the relief to prisoners out of a total expenditure of Rs. 63,000/- in 1958-1959. Similar are the figures for other years. The District Crime Prevention Societies also spent only about Rs. 7,000/- in 1958-59 for the relief to prisoners and for running the Discharged Prisoners Homes out of a total expenditure of about 28,000/- In other years the position was still worse.

agencies to keep touch with the day-to-day activities of ex-convicts. At present too, though many of these ex-convicts are under surveillance, their surveillance is undertaken primarily from the point of view of crime prevention and detection and seldom from the point of view of their rehabilitation. Police enquiries about the factors retarding an ex-convict's rehabilitation during the course of surveillance over him, may, besides being useful to criminal administration, help his ultimate rehabilitation in society considerably. For this purpose the element of 'care' in the content of police surveillance over the

ex-convicts will have to be increased.

Such an enlargement of the scope of function of the police as the factors discussed above may entail will call for the establishment of specialised police units to look after the general work connected with the prevention of recidivism. Needless to say that these units which may be known as crime prevention units should be actively associated with social welfare agencies so that the work of rehabilitation of criminals may be carried out with a common purpose on a common pattern. The process of rehabilitation has to cover all the field right from juvenile maladjustments to the ultimate redemption of offenders after the peno-correctional treatment.

APPENDIX 'A'

Statement showing the proportion of record slips of re-convicts to the total No. of record slips indexed by the F. P. B. Allahabad since 1955.

Year	Total No. of Slips Indexed			Total No. of Slips indexed in respect of first convicts			Total No. of Slips indexed in respect of re-convict		
	From districts of U. P.	From other States	Total	From U. P. districts	From out side	Total	From U. P. districts	From out side	Total
1955	15646	1814	17460	12032	1334	13466	3614	380	3994
				(76.9%)	(79%)	(77.1%)	(23.1%)	(21%)	(22.9%)
1956	12491	643	13134	9679	492	10171	2812	151	2963
				(7.5%)	(76.5%)	(77.4%)	(22.5%)	(23.5%)	(22.6%)
1957	15724	1516	17240	12829	1175	14004	2895	341	3236
				(81.6%)	(77.5%)	(81.2%)	(18.2%)	(22.5%)	(18.8%)
1958	NK	NK	22954	NK	NK	18431	NK	NK	4523
						(80%)			(80%)
Total 3 years (1955, 56, 57)	43861	3973	47834	34540	3101	37641	9321	872	10193
				(78.7%)	(78%)		(21.3%)	(22%)	
Total 4 years.			70788			56012		14716	
						(79.2%)		(20.8%)	

N. B. Source :—Finger Print Bureau, Allahabad.
N. K. Not known.

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STATEMENT 'B'

Statement showing proportion of re-convicts to the total number of persons convicted for certain offences against property in Uttar Pradesh in 1957 and 1958

Offences	1957			1958		
	Total No. of persons convicted	Number of re-convicts	Percentage of (b) to (a)	Offence	Total No. of persons convicted	Number of re-convicts
Dacoity	(a) 1646	(b) 203	13%	Dacoity	(a) 1968	(b) 274
Burglary	3284	402	13%	Burglary	3294	509
Cheating	243	47	19%	Cheating	495	63
Theft	4996	593	12%			
Total of the above offences	10169	1272	12.5%	Thefts	4644	543
					10401	1389
						13.5%

These figures were collected during a survey by the C.I.D., (U.P.) in 1959.
(With the permission of D.I.G., C.I.D.)

APPENDIX 'C'

Statement showing the number of search and traced slips of the F.P.B., U.P. in certain years (in respect of distis. of U.P. only)

Year	Search slips recd. (a)	Search slips traced out (b)	Percentage of (b) to (a)
1926	..	1776	29.3
1927	...	1754	28.2
1928	...	2264	28.0
1929	..	2478	29.0
1930	...	1954	23.0
1954	...	1456	38.4
1955	..	1777	43.7
1956	...	1824	38.6
1957	...	1647	39.3
1958	...	1434	41.3

Source :—Figures upto 1930 have been taken from the Annual reports on Police Administration.

Figures from 1954 on wards have been furnished on request by the Finger Print Bureau Allahabad.

Figures for other years could not be available.

HEALTH AND RECREATION SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN SWEDEN

By

D. R. SACHDEVA

I would like to take this opportunity of thanking Mrs. Gudrun Brunzell for arranging my visits to the institutions and interviews with the officials concerned and the latter for granting interviews to me and for replying readily to my queries. I am also to express my gratitude to Miss Ulla Arтелиус, Registrar, I.G.S. office and Miss Britta Nilsson for placing at my disposal the information I sought and for seeing through the typing of this manuscript. Last but not least, my sincerest thanks are due to Miss Marja Almqvist, my seminar leader for the great interest, pains and industry with which she guided me in the preparation of this paper.

Health services

"It is in childhood that the foundations of a long and healthy life are laid."

During the last few decades a number of major and far reaching reforms have been enacted in Sweden for the welfare of children. In fact the leading social security measures as expressed in family policy, housing policy and in the health and medical services have been specifically enacted to improve the lot of children and families. Various facilities have been setup to maintain the physical and mental wellbeing of children and to create good living conditions for them in general.

The background for measures of this kind is in part the so-called repopulation crisis of 1930's which lowered

the birth-rate and gave rise to a more or less wellfounded fear that a population decrease was in sight. The birthrate had been falling uninterruptedly since 1910. About 135,000 children were born each year towards the close of the 19th century by 1933 the number of births had fallen to 85,000 and the corresponding rate 13.7 was almost the lowest in the world, and as pointed out by *Gunnar and Alva Myrdal*, the population curve sloped menacingly towards extinction. The finding of several paralld investigations had shown that married couples were deliberately limiting the size of their families because of various socio-economic factors, insufficient income, fear of unemployment, the high cost of raising children, overcrowding in small flats etc. It was therefore concluded that marriage and births could best be stimulated by improving living conditions and compensating families in various ways for the added expense of raising children.

The essence of this new deal in social policy which was launched after the Social Democratic party took over the government in the autumn of 1932, was to level out the inequalities in living standards between families with children and those without offspring and that children should not cause a serious lowering of the living standard of a family. Nor should the opportunities of the children to utilize their talent and energy depend on the financial status of the family. The goal of the state family policy was therefore to distribute the cost of

raising children over the entire population, and to achieve this the State provides various kinds of services for children.

(I) Home furnishing loans

(Bosättningslånen)

State assistance measures for the wellbeing of a child start at an early stage—just as soon as young couple decide to get married and found a family. The State issues a loan up to maximum Kr. 3,000:- for the setting up of the home, for the purchase of furniture, utensils, equipment etc. Unmarried mothers are also eligible for these loans. As a rule, the loans must be repaid within 5 years. More than 20% of all the newlywed couples in Sweden receive these loans.

(II) Pre-natal, natal and post-natal services.

These services aim at assuring that pregnancy, confinement and nursing can take place under fully adequate hygienic and financial conditions.

(i) *The Maternity welfare centres* are intended to give free services to the expectant mothers in the form of regular control, provision of protective medicines and treatment of complications connected with pregnancy. Since 1946 certain prophylactic measures for preventing abortion have also been added to their task and the most important function in this connection is guidance relating to birth control. The centres also arrange mother craft classes and instruction in relaxation for child birth.

(ii) *The child welfare centres* aim at controlling the state of health as well as physical and mental development of infants by providing protective medicines free of charge and ensuring the general care and upbringing of

the child on right lines through satisfactory nutrition especially breastfeeding etc. They also take measures against rickets and anaemia and treat the symptoms of these diseases, examine health in cooperation with the Public Health Dental Service and give special care and attention to those children who are especially susceptible to infection. As behaviour problems and neuro-labile symptoms are rather common in children, the doctors and nurses devote their efforts to these problems and take prophylactic measures against mental disorders, by arranging special consultative hours since 1953 and arranging popular lectures to parents groups, discussions, study groups etc.

(iii) *Vaccinations.* The centres also carry out certain types of vaccination, especially small pox and diphtheria. In several places, the triple vaccination, diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis has been introduced and is done from 4—6 months of age. In addition, the service participates in the fight against tuberculosis by encouraging calmette vaccination, should it not already have been carried out at the maternity hospital which now is the rule, otherwise it is carried out at the tuberculosis dispensaries, hospital B.G.G. clinics, by private practitioners etc. All children are tuberculin tested annually to ascertain in case of those already vaccinated that tuberculin action is still positive and in the case of other children whether a tuberculosis infection exist. Those falling within the latter category are reported to the tuberculosis dispensary for further examination and investigation. In 1955, 97,582 of 101,325 controlled infants were vaccinated against tuberculosis.

The Royal Medical Board gives further information about health questions relating to expectant and nursing mothers and child care by *special demonstration courses* on child care and by dis-

tribution of pamphlets. The Board conducts these activities through the Swedish Association for social welfare (Svenska socialvardförbundet). The development of these services has progressed very rapidly and the organisation covers practically the whole country. In 1955 there were 88 maternity welfare centre, 178 child welfare centres and 34 combined maternity and child welfare centres in the towns. In the rural districts there were 553 stations and 880 branches. The number of mothers and children taking advantage of these services has also tremendously increased, the number of expectant mothers being 82,858 (72% of the total number) and corresponding figures for infant welfare being 101,325 (96%).

The running costs of these services during 1955 were 9,806,918 Sw. Kr. which were shared by the State and local authorities in the ratio of 44.2 and 55.8% and the annual cost for individual coming under the control of these services amounted to 23.51 Sw. Kr.

These health services have proved very effective in improving the standard of health and bringing about a decrease in sickness and mortality of both mother and child, and Sweden can boast of having the lowest infant mortality rate in the world—17.4 per 1000 live births.¹

These services are, however, faced with the problems of satisfactory premises, lack of buildings specially constructed for the purpose, lack of medical specialists particularly in the country areas and lack of public health nurses etc.

(iv) *Abortion Control*. In its essence abortion is a form of birth control and must be looked on from the angle of the population as a whole. In view of the great prevalence of criminal abortions, estimated about 16,000 a year, some years ago, new Swedish legislative measures have been introduced widening the scope of legal termination of pregnancy. The present abortion Act became effective in 1939 and has been amended several times, most recently in 1946. Under the Act, legal abortions are permitted on certain specified medical, socio-medical, humanitarian and eugenic indications. It stands to reason that the number of legal abortions has greatly increased since 1946. About 440 abortions were performed in 1939 as against 3,851 in 1956 (though the number of applications for legal abortion was 5,351 and the number of live births in Sweden that year was 108,000,8.²

(v) *Counselling Bureaus*. No doubt the increase in the number of abortions also have something to do with the special Counselling Bureaus which has been set up in certain towns. In 1955 there were 15 such Bureaus under the control of qualified doctors and social workers, whose function was to give advice to women seeking abortion. From 1950 to 1953 a Royal Commission of Inquiry has studied the problem of abortion in Sweden. In the spring of 1955, a new commission was assigned to study the need of *Marriage Guidance Clinics*. If these clinics are set up on a more wide scale, it is quite possible that they will also deal with abortion questions as part of their activities.

(1) Statistisk Arsbok 1957, Tabie, 50 page 56.

(2) Statistisk Arsbok 1957, Table 303, page 252.

(v) *Maternity Benefits.* As from January 1, 1955, all Swedish women are registered for maternity insurance. Every woman insured under the health insurance scheme is automatically entitled to a maternity insurance. Financially and administratively this maternity benefit is part and parcel of the health insurance. The benefits which include the repayment of the costs involved in delivering the child and a maternity grant are very similar to those paid under the health insurance scheme.

All insured women are entitled to *compensation for the cost of the birth of the child.* This means that the sickness society normally pays the maternity ward charges and the entire cost of the mother's journey to and from the maternity home in as far as these costs exceed Kr. 4:— In the case of children born at home the society pays all the midwife's expenses while the cost of medical attention is paid on the same basis as in case of illness. Natal care in Sweden has been very cheap the past few decades—on the average it did not cost a family more than 10:—Kr. per delivery, but with the introduction of national health insurance it is given free of charge. An increasing number of women are giving birth to their children in modern Swedish natal clinics. In 1918 over 90% of the babies were born at home and 10% in hospitals, to-day the figures are reversed ³.

The *maternity allowances* are twofold: a fixed *basic allowance* and a *running supplementary allowance.* All women are entitled to the basic allowance of 270 Kr. (405 Kr. for multiple births) half of which is payable at the health insurance offices three months before confinement. The offices pay the rest immediately after birth. A mother

who already has a child under 10 living at home receives an additional 20 Kr.

A gainfully employed mother earning at least 1,000 Kr. per year also receives a *supplementary allowance* as long as she abstains from work, though not for more than 90 days. The daily allowance varies from 1 to 17 Kr. depending on her income. Since maternity allowances like sickness benefits are tax exempt, an employed mother can count on receiving total cash benefits equivalent to more than 2/3 of her dispensable income.

In addition, *maternity grants* are made to pay for the mother's and child's clothes and other expenses occasioned by childbirth. The maximum grant is 600 Kr. for single birth and 800 Kr. for twins; the average sum paid out, however, is 300 Kr. To qualify for maternity assistance, mothers must pass a means test and give evidence that they are really in need of them. A special maternity committee in each country decides on the recommendation of the local child welfare committee, who shall get this type of aid. In 1956 17,558 applications for maternity assistance were granted in the whole of Sweden and the average amount of maternity assistance was 321 Kr.⁴

(III) Day Care of Children

Day care of children in Sweden is an organised activity, where children are taken care of, the whole or a part of the day, but the rest of the day and the night they live in their homes. The various branches of day care of children have sprung from private initiative. The first infant schools in Stockholm and Goteborg were founded in 1830's and the first so-called Kinder-garten was established in 1904. The State has given grants in aid to these activities

(3) Social Security, p. 22.

(4) Statistisk Arsbok 1957, Table 287, page 242.

since the beginning of 1944 on the proposal made by the Befolkningsskommision in an investigation in 1943 for State support of day care of children.

At present as a result of the increased interest in the significance of pre-school years in the development of the child and partly because of economic support by the State, though it is slight in proportion to the actual cost, and because of the scarcity of domestic labour and the right of women to retain their employment after marriage, the day care institutions are experiencing a vigorous development, and their clientele has broadened. The institutions for part time child welfare are mainly the following.

(1) *Day nurseries.* They provide whole day care for children under school age whose mothers are out at work. They are as a rule open for 11 hours a day and admit children from 3 months to 7 years of age, divided into different sections. The task of the day nurseries is to try to compensate the children for the absence of home care during that time of the day when the mother is at work. The number of day nurseries in Stockholm is at present in round figures 100 with places for about 4,500 children, corresponding to about 6% of all children between the age of 0 to 7 years. The working costs for the day nurseries were, according to the last reports made in 1955 3,044 Kr. per child per year. Of the total cost, the state paid about 60% the parents about 20% and local authorities paid about 74%.

(2) *Nursery Schools or Kindergartens* offer care and educational training during a limited period of the day for about 3 hours—for children aged 4 to 7 years as well as for younger children, in special sections. The mothers of these children are as a rule at home. The aim of these schools is principally

the pedagogical one of providing the children with an opportunity to take part in games and occupations promoting their development, under trained guidance, with suitable playmaterial and in premises permitting the freedom of movement necessary at that age. Special emphasis is laid on the social development of the children. At the same time, the housewives get a well needed respite from the care of the children and are thus able to organize their work effectively both from their own point of view and from that of their families. Stockholm is planning to build nursery schools to such an extent that in 1960 an average of about 20% as against an earlier 8% of the children aged 3 to 7 could be received in these institutions. An average nursery school has 40 places with 20 children in a morning group and 20 in an afternoon group with one nursery school teacher as leader and director. The working costs are about 90 Kr. per month per child, of which the parents contribute 15 Kr. The remainder are paid mostly by the city. At present there are about 150 nursery schools for about 6,000 children.

(3) *After school homes* are intended for children of school age whose mothers are engaged in work outside their homes. These provide children with the opportunity of recreation when school is over for the day. They also get help to prepare their lessons and receive as a rule one meal per day. It is especially important that conditions for the children in afternoon hours are as homelike as possible and the stay there does not become a constraint. Up to now there are about 60 afternoon homes with about 2,000 children.

(4) *Family day homes.* To complement the regular institutions described above, the child welfare committee also has family day homes. These are the

private homes which for a fee are willing to receive children under school age for whole day care or school children for care during a part of the day after the end of school. The system with family day homes organised by the local authority and under public control is, however, a rather new phenomenon and originally grew up as a temporary expedient, when there was such a lack of day nursery places.

One of the main drawbacks of the family day homes is that the children cannot get the pedagogical education and special care which trained personnel can give in the institutions and further they have also to do without the fun in being together with several children. But this kind of care has its definite advantages. A family day home is a real home, so the child is in normal surroundings. For children who easily catch cold and germs, family day home care is for better than the institution care. Especially good is this kind of care for single mothers on shift works. Through mutual agreements the children can for example often get an evening meal in the family day home. According to a recently made investigation of all mothers who leave their children in family day homes, 85 per cent are divorced or unmarried. The corresponding number for public day nurseries is about 40 per cent.

The remuneration to the family day homes are for children under 3 years 7 Kr. a day and for children over 3 years to school children 6 Kr. a day. The parents' contribution are fixed according to the same scale as that used in the day nurseries.

(5) *Special nursery schools for handicapped children.* For human, social and psychological reasons, it is necessary that the community gives all possible support to the hundreds of mentally

and physically handicapped children. It is gratifying to watch in Sweden the growing interest in handicapped children and their problems during the last years. In recent years the child welfare committee in Stockholm has begun to pay attention to the question of the care of different groups of handicapped children. For that purpose it has established special nursery schools, with the aim, to break the spiritual isolation of the children and give them stimulating contact with a wider community. The work is based on a long term policy of giving them developing therapy to influence and stimulate their intellects and thereby prevent far more reaching steps from the State in the future.

Among the handicapped children, the *psychologically disturbed children* are a very important group. It is evident that these children should get the right treatment and care as early as possible and a great number of children under schoolage every year are received for psychiatric treatment. Where the children are only *slightly mal-adjusted*, suitable psychological and pedagogical treatment in a group with about ten children can be enough to help them to adapt themselves socially. The first nursery school of this kind was started in 1949 and to-day there are four of them and one special day nursery, where the children can be observed all the day. These institutions belong to the psychiatric child and youth welfare, a branch of the child welfare committee and are connected to the different psychiatric advisory centres of the town.

Among the handicapped children the group of *children with cerebral palsy* has for a long time been neglected in Sweden. Characteristics of these diseases caused by damage to the brain, which in most cases happens during pregnancy or birth, is supposed to be

an inability to use certain parts of the muscular system to control their movements or co-ordinate the muscles. Many of these children are so badly injured that they cannot possibly be taken care of at home, but they must get far reaching and lengthy care in fulltime institutions. In several less severe cases, however, successful treatment of their defects can be afforded in part-time care institutions.

In the autumn of 1953 there was started one of the first nursery schools in the country for children with cerebral palsy at Fredhall, a part of Stockholm, where there are at present 25 children under school age and about 20 school children. While they are at the institution, the children get systematic treatment and training, the small children have games specially adapted for them and the school children have teaching and work therapy. A medically and psychiatrically trained doctor is attached to the school, also psychotherapists, and a speech therapist.

Another large group of handicapped children for which training under school age can give good results are the *deaf children*. The number of deaf children in Sweden is about 100,000 and 3.5 per cent of all school children are supposed to have different degrees of hearing difficulties. Up to now there were only two private schools for deaf children. In 1951, the so-called Wedenberg schools were established, named after a Swedish scientist Wedenberg, who had a deaf boy himself. He worked out an internationally accepted method for the systematic auditory training of children with some residual hearing left.

A new school with 40-50 places was inaugurated by the child welfare committee of Stockholm on 17th April, 1957 which is the largest in Sweden. It is hoped to serve research too and be a kind of experimental school.

(IV) School Health Services

The fact that the school hygiene work is of utmost important and must be regarded as one of the schools' basic duties has been appreciated in Sweden and the health culture work in the schools has in last years been made considerably more efficient. Since 1944 the work has been regulated according to uniform principles and is supervised by the Head Doctor for the school of the kingdom, who is employed full-time by the Board of Education (Skolöverstyrelsen).

The State ordered school health service exists throughout the higher schools all over the country and it covers over 90% of children in the elementary schools. The school health service is administered by school doctors assisted by nurses. In large school districts, doctors and nurses are specially employed for this service, but in most places the district medical officer and district nurse assume their duties in addition to their regular work. The main activities of the school Health Services can be analysed as follows:

(1) *Health culture and medical therapy.* The school hygiene work is directed towards health culture but a certain amount of medical therapy is also provided in the schools. For example, at the schools for the deaf and dumb or blind, the school doctors also attend to the medical care of the pupils; there is in many places a dental service at the schools carried on by specially appointed school dentists; the schools also give temporary help in cases of sudden illness or accident and as regards mental hygiene work, school doctors and nurses give therapeutic advice also.

(2) *Medical Examinations:* Among the duties of the Head Doctor for

schools is the holding of medical examinations of young people in the schools at regularly recurring intervals. All the schools are required to make the '*General Form Examinations*' which consist of besides the usual measuring and weighing of children, colour test, etc., a complete tuberculine test, X-ray of lungs, examinations of the albumen and sugar content of the urine.

(3) *Health Records.* Every school receiving State subsidies for school hygiene work is required to keep a *health card* for every child. This card contains a complete record about the child's health, also of his preschool period based on the information supplied by his parents. When the pupil has finally left school, the card is sent to the State's Institute of Racial Biology to be placed in the archives available for research. The doctors are obliged to keep both parents and teachers informed of such deviations from normal conditions of health as are of significance.

(4) *Contact with parents.* One of the most important of the schools' tasks is to try and instil sound habits of living into the children and for this purpose, intimate contact with the parents and guardians of the children is of great help. This contact is established by calling the parents to the school when needed for a conference with the school nurse or doctor, by the nurse's visits at the homes of the pupils and by bringing together the parents and guardians in parents' societies attached to the school.

(5) *Teachers' cooperation.* The school hygiene work should not be considered to be solely the concern of the medical personnel but the teachers should also take part in the activity. The teachers in Sweden have therefore the important task in the course of ordinary teaching are particularly through the tea-

ching of biology and hygiene to impart to the pupils the knowledge of desirable living habits, about cleanliness, food and dietetics, etc., and to superintend jointly with the doctors the hygiene of the school premises.

(6) *Medical advice on choice of profession.* One of the notable features of the school hygiene work in Sweden is the system of the preliminary medical advice on choice of profession. It is done as a rule at the General Form Examination in the leaving classes. Thus when the doctors find an illness of a kind that can be presupposed to have an influence on the future choice of profession, medical advice on such choice of profession will be given. Further the doctors communicate the diagnosis of the illness only to the parents and guardians and to the special labour exchange of young people, who after consultation among themselves give definite guidance in the choice of profession.

(7) *Special classes for control children.* Children requiring care from the mental point of view, on account of *retarded development of intelligence* are the objects of special attention of school doctors and nurses. They are gathered into *special forms (Relief classes)* and are regarded as control children. Children who *diverge mentally from the normal* but who do not show insufficient development of the intelligence are also considered as control children and are becoming to an ever increasing extent the objects not only of the care of teachers in the ordinary school forms or in special observation forms but also of keener attention on the part of the medical personnel. It is fixed by statute that if pupils show deviations from a normal mental condition, it is the duty of the teachers to contact the school doctors in each separate case. These doctors can take care of cases themselves or refer the child

to special children's psychologists or so called *consulting stations* where specially trained doctors and teachers collaborate. These *psychical and youth guidance clinics* receive State grants and are supervised by the Royal Medical Board. In Sweden there are for the time present only about ten child guidance clinics. But according to plans there is to be one in each county.

(8) *Sex education.* It is appreciated in Sweden that there is greater need for sex instruction in the upbringing of children than has hitherto been realized. Many young people in our own and previous generations have learnt to their cost what sexual ignorance means and what are the risks involved in improper sexual relation. The purpose of giving sex instruction is to prevent the new generation from being handicapped in the same way. Education in sex has therefore been made compulsory in all schools. Teachers are the incharge of this instruction which they impart with the necessary assistance of the medical personnel. The outlines of sexual teaching have been fixed by His Majesty's Government. The sex instruction is so arranged as to give biological information and to impart knowledge in a manner that will help both in the moulding of ideals and in the building of character. Further after instruction on these lines is intended to have a pronounced ethical basis. Another purpose of teaching about sex is to help children so that sexual development may occur as naturally as possible. This is achieved by giving instruction in matters of sex to children of different ages beginning the first form at the primary school. Sex instruction for older children can also be a preparation for parenthood. The leaving class is often the last chance of obtaining actual information on marriage, on the setting up of a home, etc. It is also an oppor-

tunity to develop the ethical, social, economic and hygiene viewpoints which should go with these matters. This side of sex instruction also helps in training the individual for his role in society.

(V) Free School Lunches

Free school lunches is another measure aimed at helping both the mother's work and the child's health besides contributing towards the family economy. For a long time the poorer children have been given free school meals but since July 1, 1946 children in the schools are entitled to free State subsidized school lunches if so desired by their parents. However, owing to the lack of technical facilities prevailing at present the local school authorities may reserve the available meals to children who live far from school, or to ill and delicate children, to children in poor circumstances, and finally, to children unable to obtain a nourishing meal at home during lunch hour.

The Royal Board of Education after conferring with the Medical Board of the State Institute of Public Health sends out directives regarding the food to be served at school lunches. There are certain 'type menus' which set the standard of the menus which each school district later makes up. The meals served usually consist of one hot course, milk, bread and butter. The Board of Education also arranges every year courses in different places all over the country for the training of the school lunch personnel.

State subsidies to school lunches are graduated in accordance with the tax revenue of the commune and generally on the basis of the costs per meal served. A special grant is given for equipping the kitchen and lunchroom and also for the training of the personnel. About 630,000 (76⁰/₀) of the 870,000 pupils

in elementary schools and about 79,700 (42%) of the 207,212 pupils in secondary and high schools were given free school lunches during 1956-57. The average price of a school lunch was 90 ore including the cost of food and salaries. For the year 1957-58, the government had guaranteed 26.2 million Sw. Kr. to school lunches and the communities had to pay the rest about 90 million Sw. Kr.⁵

The school lunches are supervised by a teacher and are made use of by him as an opportunity for teaching the students the value of choice of the proper food and its importance to their wellbeing, and for the instilling of good manners in them.

(VI) Dental Service.

The incidence of tooth decay is widespread in Sweden. In order to ensure adequate and reasonably priced dental care for the whole population and for children in particular a national dental service was organised in 1938. It was originally hoped to build up this organisation over a ten year period, but a shortage of dentists and clinics has forced a revision of plans. The service is administered by the provincial councils in cooperation with the local authorities and also by the autonomous cities and is partly financed by government grants. For the purpose of the service each provincial council area is subdivided into a number of dental districts having at least one dental policlinic with one or more dental officers. Further each provincial council area is provided with a central policlinic organised as a department of the central area hospital to which are referred all complicated cases.

The *National Dental Service* is primarily intended for children between 3 and 15 who receive all treatment free of charge. Dental service for free treatment for children of school age is available at some schools also and is provided by the municipalities. By now 1,450 dentists administer to more than 500,000 children at 650 clinics.⁶ When fully organized the public dental service will require about 2,500 dental officers, 2,500 dental nurses and 800 technicians.⁷

The government started a nationwide publicity campaign in 1956 on tooth ailments, balanced diets and oral hygiene and to alleviate the shortage of dentists it is granting scholarships to dental students who agree to enter the service after graduation for a stipulated number of years.

(VII) Gymnastics and Sports in Schools.

No one can deny the value of gymnastics and sports in the promotion of physical and mental health and in the development of character, of qualities learned in team spirit, courage, decision respect for others, concentration, self control, accuracy and judgement. Gymnastics-physical exercises, attract young people in Sweden in ever increasing numbers. During the past ten years, the number of young people under 16, who are actually engaged in voluntary gymnastics as well as in *compulsory school gymnastics* has almost trebled. The numbers continue to increase and it is hoped that children throughout the country will be afforded increasing facilities for developing this healthy and pleasant leisure occupation.

In the school curriculum gymnastics is compulsory for one hour, two

(5) Mimeograph on *Free School Lunches*, p. 6.

(6) *Facts about Sweden*, p. 20.

(7) *Social Sweden*, p. 308.

hours and three hours a week for the first grade (7 years), 8 years and 9—16 years students respectively. Teachers can take the whole class for free air activities for 8—12 whole days or 20 half days in a year. Elementary swimming is taught after school time by special swimming teachers and every second school possesses a swimming pool. A lot of sports and hobbies indoor and outdoor are provided after schooltime depending on the conditions of weather. The schools have special gymnastic teachers on their staff.

(VIII) Benefits under National Health Insurance.

The Riksdag in 1946 brought in a law on general health insurance which superseded the previous voluntary schemes by a general compulsory health insurance scheme. After revision of the law, such insurance came into force on January 1, 1955. The basic principle behind the scheme is in short that since everyone runs the risk of becoming ill, everyone should be assured some protection against the economic consequences. The new health insurance covers all the inhabitants of the country irrespective of age, health and sex. *Children under 16 receive the same benefits for medical service as adults but without having to pay any contribution.* The insurance comprises (a) Medical care benefit insurance and (b) Sickness benefit insurance (cash grant).

(a) *Medical benefits* consist of refunds or expenditures for the following :

(1) *Doctors' fees.* Every one may choose his own doctor. The individual pays the doctor in full and is refunded three fourths of amount by the Public Sickness funds. The doctor's transportation costs are included if he has made a home call. Though the scheme does not require doctors to abide by its fee

rates, most of them do so in actual practice.

(2) *Transportation Cost* on his first visit to a doctor's office, the patient is reimbursed for $\frac{3}{4}$ of travel costs in excess of 4 Kr. On subsequent visits all travel costs over 2 Kr. are usually paid for. If the person is to be confined at a hospital, he is compensated in full for the transportation costs involved. As regards the return journey any cost in excess of 4 Kr. is paid. If an attendant is required, his travelling expenses are also paid.

(3) *Purchase of medicine.* No charge is made for medicines prescribed for specified illnesses of a prolonged nature such as tuberculosis, diabetes, cancer and asthma. On other medicines a 50% discount is deductible from that part of the cost in excess of 3 Kr.

(4) *Hospital care.* Hospital care in a public ward is compensated in full. If the patient has a private room or goes to a private hospital, he is reimbursed for that part of the costs which correspond to the price charged in a public ward at the hospital in his home district.

(5) *Additional benefits.* The Health Insurance Associations have also introduced the additional benefits of three fourths compensation, of costs for therapeutic gymnastics, massage, convalescent care and speech therapy.

(b) *Sickness Benefits.* Sickness benefit insurance covers only those members of a sickness fund whose annual income from gainful employment in cash and in kind amount to at least 1,200 Kr. and also married women. The sickness benefits are paid out at a rate proportionate to the patients' income.

(1) *A Basic Sickness Benefit* of 3 Kr. per day is paid to everybody earning at least 1,200 Kr. per year from work. (The average annual wage for a worker in Sweden lies between 8,000 and 12,000 Kr.)

(2) Wage earners receive in addition a *sickness benefit supplement* if their earnings are at least 1800 Kr. a year. The sickness benefit supplement varies between 1 and 17 *Kr.⁸ depending on income. Maximum payment goes, to those whose income from employment is 14,000 Kr. or above.

(3) When the principal bread winner, usually the husband, is ill, a supplementary benefit known as the *family allowance* (for patients with children under 16) is added to the basic daily benefit. The supplement amounts to one krona per day for one or two children, two Kr. for three or four children and three Kr. for five children or more.

(4) *Home compensation.* During hospital confinement, a patient has no expenses for food, medicine, laundry and so forth. The daily cash compensation is therefore reduced and called home compensation. It is 3 Kr. less than sickness benefit.⁹ It may not be less than half the latter, however. The supplementary family allowance is the same as that for sickness benefit. For a woman who has children under 10 living at home, the home benefit is at least 3 Kr. In addition to this, she receives a supplementary family allowance of at least 2 Kr.

It should be remembered that for the first three days of illness, no sickness benefit is payable and further that the sickness benefit is not payable

for longer than two years for each illness. The benefits under the compulsory insurance scheme may be increased by voluntary insurance which covers only sickness benefit insurance, and students may not insure themselves for a greater benefit than 6 Kr. a day.

As a result of the numerous social benefits that the children receive from year to year in one form or the other and aided by a rising standard of living, improved hygiene conditions and medical progress, Sweden has undoubtedly made grand and abiding achievements in laying down strong foundations for a sound physical and mental health in the childhood age. There are shortages of medical personnel and premises but these shortcomings are expected to be overcome through ambitious plans that Sweden contemplates to launch every year. By 1965, it is estimated that the present corps of 5,000 doctors will have increased to 7,600 and the number of nurses from 15,000 to 20,000. Statistics show that children who entered the world in the period 1941—45 can enjoy life expectancy after 68 years to be accurate, the figure is 67.1 years for males, and 69.7 for females.⁹ This is indeed a remarkable achievement and still greater results can be expected when national health occupies a central place in the Swedish social welfare structure and childhood age has particularly become the crux of the social care.

Recreation Services

"Leisure in its activity is work.

The stillness of the sea stirs in waves"

Tagore

A hundred years ago, philanthropists and social workers in the newly

8. For supplementary benefits accruing on different income levels see Table on page 73 of Social Security.

9. Social Structure of Sweden, page 6.

industrialised countries of Europe were much concerned about the fact that children and young people spent the greatest part of their time working. They directed their efforts towards reducing the hours of work for day and towards raising the age at which children might start work. Today they are concerned about the ways in which young people spend their free time. They point to the groups of adolescents in cities whose behaviour seems aimlessly and frivolously centered on the modern idols of stage, screen, radio and music. They point to the increases in idle destructiveness and in delinquency, in drug addiction, in the rapid break down of marriage among young people. Sweden whose economic system assures practically every individual of a decent living has still a greater youth problem. It is reported that in Stockholm, on New Year's Eve, 1956; 5,000 youths and girls rushed through the streets assaulting passers-by breaking shop windows and throwing ahead of them lighted papers soaked in petrol.¹⁰ It may be an exceptional astounding event but the youth problem is there. This problem is especially acute for those who are not interested in joining an association (though Sweden is a land of organisations and associations and where it is said that the only thing unorganised of a Sweden in his sleep¹¹ or studying or participating in particular active sports. Many youth spend many evenings and Sundays hanging around in door ways, street corners, parks, railroad stations for want of something to do. Young people—the 'skinknuttar' leather jackets—idle boys from lower class families have their gangs and are notorious for stealing cars. To quote, Prof. Gunnar Heckscher again, the most important advantage of the welfare state is more time and energy for leisure but the crucial question is how

one is going to use one's additional time and energy.

The youth problem is further accentuated in Sweden by the fact that homes do not provide satisfactory conditions for leisure time activities. The housing situation is so acute that according to the Ungdomswards-kommittens slutbethankande of 1951, out of 75% of the children of age group 15—21, who lived with their parents, only 17% had their own rooms. Then there are a number of children who have been born out of wedlock or else are the children of divorced or legally separated parents. An investigation by the Youth Committee in 1951 showed that 20% of the youth in Stockholm had experienced some kind of broken home and found it necessary to leave home before the age of 16.

Besides, leisure time occupation is required for the pre-school and school children as well. The number of pre-schools is not adequate because of the shortage of trained teachers and obligation of the state to concentrate more on the building of compulsory schools. Only a small group of young children (10%) can go to pre-schools and kindergartens 3 hours a day. Compulsory schooling begins at the age of seven and lasts for eight years. In the schools the summer vacation is 2½ to 3 months and the Christmas holidays 3 weeks. The school day ends for the first grade at 1 or 2 o'clock and on Saturday afternoons most of the school children are free.

There are of course *commercial entertainments* to provide leisure time resources. *Movie-going* is the most popular form of entertainment. Statistics show that on the average youth go to the

10 Way Forum—Leisure and Culture; Dec. 1957, p. 33

11 The Welfare State and the Future—Lecture by Prof. Heckscher at the London School of Economics and Political Science on Feb. 8, 1955.

movies at least once a week. *Dance Halls* are rather plentiful which are attended about once a week by boys and about three times a month by girls. *Kafes and Konditoris* are other favourite haunts. These are attended at least once a week by boys and at least five or six times a month by girls. This private pleasure industry has increased tremendously during the later decades but they are no proper places for leisure activities which could give an outlet for the natural desire to create. It is therefore the responsibility of the State and the community to place at the disposal of children and young people such leisure time facilities which should not only provide recreation and relaxation to them but also enable them to utilize their leisure for some creative purposes. It is gratifying to note that Sweden is doing a lot in this respect and I propose to deal with such state and communal leisure time resources here.

Recreation for children and mothers.

Holiday Travels and Holiday Homes.

In Sweden, children and mothers of cities and industrial communities have been provided with possibilities of holiday travels and healthy sojourns in the country since long. But the activity was regulated by the Riksdag. in 1946 when it passed the proposal made by the Committee of 1941 on population politics¹² regarding extensive measures from the State with the aim to provide housewives and children with rest and recreation. The different benefits as a consequence of these measures are as follows:

(A) *Holiday Travels.* Children below 15 years are entitled to free travels once a year to a freely chosen summer

stay anywhere in Sweden during any time of the year except on certain days around the more important festivals, by the cheapest means of travel. A person who accompanies a child younger than 11 years is also entitled to a holiday travel but free travel is also permissible for a person accompanying child if older than 11 years if the child is mentally retarded or if the travel is extremely complicated with many changes of trains.

Housewives (14% of married women are holetime and 15% part-time employed and according to the report of "Arbetsmarknadskommittens kvinno-utredning" 1951, the average working woman is so burdened that she has only 48 minutes of leisure in the whole day)¹² also need rest and recreation in order to perform with greater freshness and energy their domestic duties, prominent among them being that of the upbringing of children. Housewives with at least two children younger than 15 years are entitled to holiday travels without their children. Other housewives may also after special considerations like their heavy work burden or poor health may get holiday travels.

It is stipulated that children and housewives availing themselves of holiday travels must stay out for minimum four weeks and ten days respectively (if strong reasons are adduced, at least for 14 and 7 days respectively) but not more than three months, because if the absence from home is reduced below these limitations, the purpose of a strengthening and stimulating stay in a new and healthy environment shall not be served. On return documentary proof as to the length of stay has therefore to be presented to the child welfare committee.

Further, in order to be eligible for holiday travels, the family's taxable

¹² Social Structure of Sweden, page 37.

income may not exceed 5,700 Kr. and assets not more than 50,000 Kr. A fee of 5 Kr. is to be paid for every child over 6 years and for the guardians. Transportation is entirely free, however, for widows and unmarried mothers and for families having at least three children under 15. *Holiday Grants* not exceeding 50 Kr. in exceptional cases 125 Kr. are also granted to needy housewives going on holiday, to meet expenditure for domestic assistance during their absence, to have the children cared for outside the home, to buy new clothes etc.

Applications for holiday travels are made with the local child welfare committees, who are entrusted with the local administration of the travel. (B) *Holiday Places*. Children going away for holidays can seek accommodation at any one of the following places :

(1) *Children Holiday's Summer Camps*. Children summer camps have for many years been sponsored by special holiday associations, religious organizations and to a minor degree by local authorities. Formerly the camps were financed in part by funds obtained from collections or donations but since 1943 they have been enjoying State grants in aid usually payable at the rate of 1 Krona a day per child. In order to receive this subsidy the camps must conform to certain standards and serve a real communal need. A children's camp is supervised by the communal child welfare committee, the State Provincial Board and the Social Welfare Board.

Each summer camp accommodates 30—40 children, though a few of them take 100 or more. There is at present accommodations for about 20,000 children at such camps and as several of the camps take two groups of children every summer, the total accommodation for each year may be 38,000. Children from families of small means

or otherwise delicate are chosen for these camps. Before going away to the camps, they have to undergo a medical examination and a doctor is responsible for the health conditions and for care in case of illness at the camp. The State subsidy to children camp activity also includes free transport to the staff going to camps.

(2) There exist *holiday homes for the housewives* also, 200, in number maintained by certain organisation for providing accommodation for about 30,000 guests during one year. About 30 of these homes receive guests from the whole country while the rest are restricted to a county council area. Most of them are open only during the summer while a few for the whole year. Some folkhigh school boarding houses are also used for holiday home activities.

The state grant towards the running cost of these homes consist of 2.50 Kr. per guest and day on condition that the respective county council pays a grant of 1.50 Kr. per guest and day. Holiday homes receiving guests from the whole of the country or larger part of it are, however, entitled to State grant even if the county council does not contribute. The guests are also required to pay nominal fees of 3—6 Kr. per day.

These homes have proved to be an excellent means of providing recreation for housewives, but unfortunately, they are not made full use of, as the housewives find it difficult to get away from their duties towards their family because of the dearth of special home helps.

(3) *Family cottages*. Many housewives like to spend their holiday together with their family. To meet this need of theirs, different voluntary organizations provide cottages which can

be rented by them for a couple of weeks.

(4) *Private homes.* Parents or guardians may themselves arrange private homes for holiday stay for their children. But if they can't do so, some voluntary organisations and communities can procure placement for them at private families which are paid, for taking care of a summer child. The State makes a small contribution from 50 ore to one krona per day per child

to the organisations that undertake such activity. About 20,000 children make use of this kind of facility. The placement in private families is being sought for increasingly as the children often get a more individual care there and come into more intimate contact with the countryside than if they stay in a camp. Indeed, the recreational value of a holiday spent in the home of a private family frequently is greater than in camps.

Resources Provided by the Community

The problems of providing leisure time recreations to the children and young people are becoming intensified with the growing proportion of young age groups in the population (as reflected in the following statistics of population by age in Sweden.¹³

<i>Age</i>	<i>Years 1950</i>	<i>1957</i>
— 4	627,287	531,299
5 — 9	552,612	588,550
10 — 14	439,310	621,997
15 — 19	420,449	466,378
20 — 24	467,763	430,449

As for increase in the young age groups in Stockholm the following table makes it clear that there has been an increase of 77% in 15—20 age group and, of 13% in 20-25 years age group.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Age-group</i>		
	0-7	7-15	15-25
1952	80,488	76,428	79,713
1956	72,500	95,300	89,800
1959	73,100	91,900	111,400

The community is conscious of its responsibilities of providing as many resources as it can depending upon the availability of finances etc. The following are the authorities concerned with the organisation of the Recreational services in Stockholm.

¹³ Statistisk Årsbok 1957, Table 16, p. 14.

(1) *The School Commission of the cultural department of the Municipality-Folkskolektionen.*

(2) *The Park section - Parkavdelning of the construction department.*

(3) *The Sports and open air committee - Idrotts-och Friluftsstyrelsen of the construction department.*

(4) *The Bureau of Leisure time of young people - Fritidsavdelning of the Child Welfare Board of the Social Welfare Department.*

They cater to the various needs of children and young people to enable them to make fuller use of their leisure time as will be borne out by a resume of their activities.

I. *Leisure time activity department under Folkskole direction* for free time activity in the schools was begun in 1942, to give the youth of the ages 14-18 possibilities of occupying themselves in an entertaining and creative manner. It is evident that schools already equipped as they were for practical work and play could be conveniently used in the evening, as a satisfactory solution to the problem of lack of other suitable places for the young people.

The Folkskole director have further attempted to place at the disposal of the youth as broad a selection of activities as possible. For example (a) Hobby activities such as gymnastics, ping pong, handball, scout work or dramatics (b) subjects which can develop a youth's ability for the future and which can be used as a hobby or training for full-time occupation as woodcraft, sewing, type writing and (c) activities definitely oriented towards

jobholding, for instance, for boys, electricity, carpentry and mechanics, and for girls tailoring, hairdressing and type writing.

Also for free time occupation have been made available 'Reading afternoons'. In elementary school libraries and in the class room children can come and read, draw, paint and play games of different sorts. This type of occupation has been extended significantly. The Elementary School Board enrolls about 11,000 young people in circles or groups dealing with hobbies or vocational guidance.

II. *The Park Section* is chiefly concerned with recreational services with special emphasis on outdoor recreation for children up to 14 and has the duties of building and maintaining parks and playgrounds, and arranging other activities including concerts and theatres in the parks.

It is essential to make provisions for the free hours for play in a nice and safe place. Beyond the physical and recreational advantages of a systematic policy concerning play grounds, it is also necessary from the moral point of view in order to avoid bad associations and gang activities in the streets and above all on account of the considerable number of accidents to children resulting from the modern increase in traffic, particularly in heavy built up areas. Sweden is one of the countries that has the most to display in the field of playground activities and leadership.¹⁴

Public Park Playgrounds which were started by the Stockholm municipality on the request of an association of women in Stockholm (Hem och yrke) for the outdoor recreation of the children

in 1936, are playing a significant role in providing entertaining recreation for school children as well as for small children. The number of playgrounds supervised by trained playleaders has increased from 9 in 1937 to 84 in 1958 and provision for three more exists in the current year budget. The playgrounds are open and free of charge to all children up to about 15 years of age and they are free to come and go as they want. Play in the parks takes place every weekday from 9-17 hrs. from May—Sept. and it finishes at 1 p.m. on Saturdays. In certain cases the time is extended to 8 p.m. The playleaders encourage personal activity, good behaviour and good comradeship among children. Group games, competitions, theatre shows and periods for songs or story telling are arranged from time to time. In the Junk playgrounds material can be borrowed as well as tools from the tool shed. Padding pools or showers are also found in most of the playgrounds. Premises for indoor playing necessitated particularly by bad weather are also provided in some places—in old buildings of historical interest, Crafter's cottages etc. and in a flat usually situated on the ground floor of one of the houses, in the newer part of the city.

During the *winter months*, the playgrounds are converted into ice rinks for skating, skiing and sliding. There are small natural hills in most of the places, otherwise an artificial slope is made. Here the children are very happy and the playgrounds have a high number of visitors. *Outings* are made during the summer to enable the children to get to know something of nature.

For the small children, 1½ to 4 years of age, there are special fenced in *playpens* where the mothers can leave their tinies under the direct supervision of a special assistant leader for one hour or

more when they go out for shopping or for cleaning the house etc. Such toys as buckets and spades are provided and the children need not bring their own toys. The *playpens* are free and open from 9 to 12.30, 1.30 to 4.30 and on Saturdays from 9 to 12.30.

Maximum advantage of the public playgrounds and their possibilities is taken in Sweden by children from all social classes. The playgrounds draw about 4 million admissions a year.

The part of the city budget for playgrounds for 1957 was 1,120,000 Kr. Of this more than half was for salaries for leaders and the rest for the renewal and repairs of equipment, excursions etc. In other words it provided more than 3½ million separate playground visits for 30 ore. The budget for the year 1959 is one million two hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

III. Activity of the sports and open air committee

Sport as a people's movement in Sweden started at the time of the olympic games held in Stockholm in 1912. From this time, the Community of Stockholm has taken an active interest in the expansion and building up of this movement. Since 1939 Stockholm's sports and open air committee as do such committees in other towns, controls all questions relating to sport and open air life. During recent years it has taken an active interest in youth and has established sport activities suitable for them. The main efforts of the committee were directed towards those young people who did not belong to any youth organisation, in an attempt to get them interested in open air life and later in being active members of a sport club.

The city of Stockholm has now 17 *sport grounds*. Most of them have been

planned in two sections so that they can be used for training, whilst a match is being played. The majority of them are equipped with Turkish baths. These are mainly for the use of those taking part in sporting activities but they may even be used by the general public on payment of a small fee.

In addition to the sport grounds, there are at least 62 *ball fields* which are of great importance to the committee's youth activities. In the winter-time most of the sports grounds and ball fields are converted into *ice rinks* for bandy, ice hockey and general skating. Ice rinks which are not laid down on sport grounds are before 8 o'clock in the evening reserved for children under the age of 14 years and for the schools. In addition the committee maintains *ski jumps* of different heights. Sledge competitions are arranged for hundreds of youngsters. For children under the age of seven are provided several fixed sledge roundabouts.

Approximately 20 outdoor *tennis courts* with provision for electric illumination are placed in different parts of the town near the sport grounds. For *gymnastics, handball, tennis, and other indoor sports* the committee maintains halls in different places. The largest of these halls in Eriksdalshallen, which is also used for table tennis, wrestling, basketball and weight lifting.

During recent years *motor sport* has become increasingly popular. The Committee has laid cross country track for young motorists and put at their disposal the expert guidance of an instructor. The committee has also made a *rowing course*, an indoor pool for winter training and a small boat house. It lets out these premises to school children without charge. In addition the committee, in order to

popularize rowing as a sport has its own boats to hire out to interested persons.

The committee makes provision for *indoor baths* also. The city's largest indoor bath is situated in Forsgrenska Medborgarhuset. *Open Air Swimming facilities* are perhaps the largest in Stockholm. *Vanadisbadet*—The Vanadis swimming pool, situated in Vanadis-lunden Park, at Sveavägen, is made use of by the general public in tremendous numbers during the summer months. The highest number of bathers recorded so far in one day has been 4,669 and the highest seasonal figure 180,490; this corresponds to an average daily figure of 1,421 during the bathing season. The *Flatenbath's* most known attraction is the children's bath, that means to say children between the ages 4 and 14 can without fee for 5 hours every day with the exceptions of Saturdays and Sundays for 6 weeks come out to Flaten for swimming and playing. At fixed times the children are fetched by buses calling at different gathering areas. The children whilst at the bath are also fed with cakes and milk. The highest daily attendance figure recorded for anyone day has been 5,080.

Free swimming instruction is given by trained swimming teachers at all large open air baths. In a couple of suburbs where there are still no bathing facilities, the committee has tried to overcome the problem by installing shower baths or sunbathing areas.

Most attractive places for open air holidaying are the *Open Air Reservations* areas of extreme natural beauty, consisting of lakes, tree covered hills, meadows etc. in the beautiful surroundings of undisturbed wild nature. The committee has 8,000 hectares open air reservations with about 300 small cottages for the families to hire and

there are about 3,000 private boats to provide fun and amusement in fishing etc. In addition excellent camping grounds are to be found in the area. The 1950 International Scout Assembly with 10,000 delegates was held at AVA reservation. On Grinda and Finnhamn the committee has constructed youth camps for girls and boys respectively where the campers live in tents. Finally, the committee, with the cooperation of the teachers, arranges school excursions, school sport days when the schools make the fullest use of the committee's instructors without cost. On sport days, map reading and compass running constitute an important part in the proceedings.

The sports and open air committee further gives financial support to certain organisations which are not all sport organisations but whose interests lie in the same direction as, for example, Stockholm's General Public Gymnastics Departments, certain scout organisations, two tourist organisations and others. To help the organisations in solving the problem of shortage of leaders, the committee also organizes every year a great number of courses for track stewards and leaders active in youth work. More than 500 people every year are granted certificates of competence through such courses.

IV. *Fritidsavdelning av Barnavårdsnämnden.*

According to the child welfare law of 1924, there must be in every Swedish community a child welfare committee which has to take care of children and young people under the age of 21 years. The committee has a 'Leisure Time Occupation Bureau' which tries to help young people with leisure time problems.

Fritidsavdelning runs 37 youth centres in Stockholm on behalf of the municipality. The youth centres are intended to be places of amusement for young people in order to make them feel at home by giving them the possibilities of meeting indoors, instead of running in the streets. In the youth centres they find a place for recreation and hobbies and there they meet old and new friends and through theatre performances, cinema nights, dances and other entertainments, they can create an atmosphere that gives glamour and excitement to their leisure.

In order to attract the young boys and girls to the youth centres, the leaders who are trained in psychology, sociology, theoretical and practical group work, youth centre management, hobby instruction etc. use care of the youth centre as its gateway, which is open to all kinds of young people, even anti-social and criminal ones. When they come and relax in the cafes, the leaders awaken interest of an individual or if need be, of the gang of young boys and girls as a whole for some kind of club work, which in turn takes the form of one or the other hobby enabling the leader to teach his wards subsequently how to find their way to art, literature, sport, society problems and democratic living.

The youth centres vary in size. Vällingby youth centre with an area of 6,500 aq. ft. is the largest of its kind in the capital. The centres seethe with activity in some 507 clubs and groups. Even the cafe where no one is under pressure to do anything is often the locale of popular contests, discussions, floor shows or other entertainments. The programmes of the clubs and groups vary according to age, interest and aptitude.

Children's theatres. A special mention may be made of the Stockholm

Child Welfare Board's activity in the field of providing children's theatres, which are of great significance in the life of children. Here, they fulfill their innate desire to imitate. More over the children's theatres do not provide only a fascinating game but also serve as an excellent medium for developing talent, cultivating artistic tastes and awakening interest in good drama and literature.

Though the youth centres offer facilities for children's theatres and entertainments, yet three exclusive children's theatres also have been provided for, each of which incurs annual running costs of 20,000 kronor.

The child welfare board also gives financial support, guidance in organisation, acquiring and furnishing meeting places, arranging courses and publicity, etc. to the private organisations engaged in the youth welfare work. Most prominent of the numerous such organisations are the following:

1. *Youth Councils* (ungdomsråden). The youth councils are joint agencies which coordinate the activities of different youth clubs in a church parish. At present there are 19 youth councils in Stockholm area, as a rule one for each parish of the city, with together 65 youth centres, and 800 clubs of all kinds. They receive contribution from the child welfare board to the tune of 688,500 Kr. per year.

2. *District Organisations*, are the coordinating agencies for different temperance associations, religious associations, scouting clubs etc. They are assisted by the youth councils and they receive direct aid from the child welfare board also. The aid covers

two thirds of instructors' salaries, 60% of the rent of premises if they meet certain conditions in regard to facilities available, size of membership etc., and a maximum allowance of 500 kronor as contribution for starting a new club. The Board granted 236,400 Kr. to 15 district organisations in 1958.

3. *Settlement*. Settlement movement is a philanthropic movement exercising a very salutary influence on the solution of social problems confronting advanced countries. The main aim of settlements is "to create a new type of community life, comprehending all of thought, experience and power of service that every neighbour can bring... and by the cultivation of natural friendship among people of all sorts, circumstances and opinions making possible the art of "living with folks". In short settlements work is a community project.¹⁵ About 10 settlements are active in Sweden and they are supported by several associations, foundations, church groups, private institutions etc. At their centres, they try to foster feelings of friendliness and good fellowship in a homelike environment. The centres activities cover a wide range—theoretical and practical courses, lectures and discussions, arts and hobbies, but very little of outdoor activities. The child welfare board granted 215,000 Kr. to help finance their work in 1958.

The child welfare board has been giving financial help to some music youth centres, motor youth centres, as a matter of fact to every organisation that comes forward to do something for the youth welfare.

A perusal of the leisure time facilities afforded to the children and young people by the state, community and private organisations reveal that *Sweden*

has undoubtedly met the challenge commendably. Leisure time of most of them is occupied with good activities at youth centres etc. or with sports in nice surroundings. But there are still innumerable idlers in the teenage group found going about aimlessly in the streets and posing a serious problem by involving themselves in criminal pursuits. More efforts are needed to make a psychological approach to such youngsters, and though society as a whole is appreciably conscious of its responsibility of providing leisure facilities for the young, an orientation in the particular parents' sense of responsibility is desirable. Apart from providing

proper accomodation to the children in homes for a healthy leisure occupation which can be possible only with the easing of the housing situation in general, parents need to give greater sympathy and understanding, to exercise some sort of beneficent control and to evince greater interest in the welfare of their children. There is sufficient evidence to hope that the tempo of providing leisure time facilities in the form of building a youth centre, children's theatre etc, in each part of the town, shall continue unabated and the organized activities for boys and girls shall be carried on still larger scales.

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ADULT STREET DWELLERS OF KANPUR

By

J. S. TEWARI.

Vagrancy and Pauperism

The economic condition of the street dwellers of Kanpur is the worst. It can be very well said that they are merely existing, not living. Their standard of living is the lowest. They have no source of regular income and the income that they earn by their daily employment is so low that it is not sufficient even for their two square meals. They take only one evening meal and that too very coarse and not nutritive.

They are ill clad, better say, they are in rags. A majority of these street dwellers remain half naked and the clothes that they put on are awfully dirty. Some times they are wrapped in old gunny bags. A *lungi*, a *gamchha* and a half sleeve's shirt is all they have. They have no beddings and sleep on the bare foot paths along the road-sides all over the city.

In the absence of regular income, housing accommodation and sky high rents these street dwellers cannot arrange for any dwelling place other than the streets. They cannot even manage to live in slums and *ahatas* which are already over crowded and insanitary. Men, women and children have the canopy of heaven above and earth beneath and the masonry foot-paths along the roadsides are the dwelling places of these twenty thousand homeless persons in Kanpur.

This leads them to vagrancy and pauperism. They try to save as much as possible out of their meagre income

for their daily use. Often they remain hungry so that they may clothe their wife, children and old parents. They sleep on the footpaths so that they may provide a place of shelter to their dependants in the village.

Number of Families among the Street Dwellers of Kanpur

The following table shows the number of families among the street dwellers of Kanpur.

	Number.	Percentages.
Single individuals	917	91·7
Families	83	8·3
Total	1,000	100·0

It is obvious from these figures that a large majority i.e. 91·7% of these street dwellers of Kanpur consist of single individuals. Either they have left their dependents in the villages as is the case with labourers or they have none as is the case with beggars and destitutes. The rest 8·3% consist of families living on the Kanpur pavements. Out of these 83 families only 14 families belong to workers and the rest belong to beggars as given in the following table.—

Number of families—		
belonging to labourers	14	16·9
belonging to beggars	69	83·1
Total	83	100·0

It is clear from these percentages that only 16.9% of the total number of families among the street dwellers of Kanpur belong to labourers. The labourers generally leave their families in the villages and come all alone to Kanpur for 3 to 6 months when they are free from agricultural work.

83.1% of these families belong to the beggars. They live in Kanpur permanently. All the members of the family are engaged in begging. There are some Muslim families in which husband is engaged in some job while wife or old mother or some crippled member of the family is engaged in begging. Such is the case also with the Madrased families in which all members are engaged in begging. These beggars migrate with their whole family. They visit places of religious importance where they expect better earning.

Masculine nature of Pavement

The Kanpur pavements are predominantly occupied by males and the number of families is very low as given in the following table.

Male adults	822	82.2
Female adults	93	9.3
Children	85	8.5
Total	1000	100.0

These figures show that 82.2% of the total sample are males and only 9.3% are females and the rest 8.5% are children. This anomaly between the two sexes is due to various reasons. Firstly the conditions of living on these pavements do not favour the fair sex. Men can live under all circumstances but women cannot. They cannot even move freely especially during odd hours of the night. Secondly women cannot take up each and every profession. They can neither pull rickshaws,

theles nor they can lift heavy weights like *jhalliwalas*. These are the common professions of the street dwellers. Naturally the scope of employment of these street dwelling women is very limited. They are either engaged in grain cleaning in *mandies*, and grain markets, godowns or in begging. Therefore their number is low in accordance with the limited scope of employment as street dwellers in Kanpur.

Lastly women folk do not migrate from the rural areas independently as men to the city of Kanpur. They can only accompany the males.

This sex anomaly among the street dwelling population of Kanpur creates several social problems. In the absence of any fixed place they remain moving and even changing their residence on different streets. A majority of *jhalliwalas* and other who come for the first time to Kanpur in search of employment and have no acquaintance in the city find a dwelling place on the masonry pavements near the railway station. By and by they become acquainted with other localities of the city and move to that part of it where they find greater opportunities of employment and better earnings. Most of them are able to find some regular employment and arrange for a dwelling place in some *ahatas* or labour *bustees* of the city.

Thus they become vagrant by nature. They do not possess any belonging except a *lota*, a bucket and a *thali*, some old pieces of gunny bags and very scanty clothings. Belongings and proper place of residence are closely related. It is a problem before them to keep their belongings during the hours of work.

The following table shows the different kinds of belonging of the street dwellers.

	Number.	Percentages.
Without any belonging except ordinary clothes.	589	58.9
Having ordinary utensils and beddings etc.	411	41.1
Total	1,000	100.0

It is clear from these figures that 58.9% of the total street dwelling population are without any belonging. As they have no dwelling place and source of regular income they do not possess any belonging except scanty clothes which they put on and a basket if they happen to be a *jhaliwala*. Generally rickshawpullers, *thela* pullers and other miscellaneous workers have got no belongings. The sleep on the bare footpaths, purchase their food from the hawkers or roadside shops, use the public taps, public latrines for their needs and work wherever they got some employment. They are daily wage earners and often remain without any employment. For days together they remain hungry in absence of any employment. Then they resort to begging.

Besides, this they try to save more than 50% of their daily income for their dependants at the cost of their own necessities of life. Thus they do not purchase utensils and have no beddings at all. They spend the least possible money on them. Ultimately they are reduced to pauperism.

Only 41.1% of them have got ordinary utensils like broken pans and pots of aluminium and an iron pan called *tawa*. Old pieces of gunny bags to be used as beddings and a bamboo stick in case of old and infirm beggars constitute their belongings. They sometimes have a bundle of tattered clothes in

which they keep their earnings or some grain ; flour, rice, pulse etc.

Extreme poverty and helplessness reigns supreme among the street dwellers of Kanpur. Despondency and dejection are visible on their faces. A *jhaliwala* in his poor and dirty clothes with a basket on his head wanders through the lanes and streets of the busiest markets of the city right up from the early morning till late at night only for a few annas. A rickshaw puller sweats the whole day under the heavy pull and catches T. B. in his prime youth. A *thela* puller remains waiting on the stand for his unknown employer who seldom turns up. Similarly beggars, males and females, practically naked, or wrapped in old gunny bags present an abnoxious sight on the footpaths. A blind, old beggar shivers in the chilly winter and stumbles at every step. Small baby clings to the breasts of her mother who has been sick for weeks and appeals to the passers by in vain for a pice. A leper deserted by his kith and kins discarded by the society sinks into the disease and disappointment. A beggar old and decrepit, bent on his stick stands in the market place for a pice. Such is the horrible condition of street dwellers of Kanpur.

Their Property and its protection

As has been mentioned above the street dwellers have no belongings. Their property consists of tattered and old pieces of clothes and gunny bags, old and broken utensils of aluminium of some earthen pots. Thus they hardly require any protection of their property which is almost nothing. Workers keep their belongings under the wooden floor of some shops or over the low roof of the stalls in the neighbourhood when they are away during the hours of work. Some women leave it under the care of their little sons or

daughters who play around and look after the belongings as long as their mother is away for her work.

The following table shows how their property is protected

	Number	Percentage
Having huts	51	12.4
Kept overlow roof	37	9.0
Kept under the wooden floor	41	10.0
Kept in a corner of shop godown	67	16.3
Left under care of dependants	83	20.2
Left under care of neighbours	31	7.5
Left without any protection	47	11.4
Keep their belongings with them during the hours of work.	54	13.2
Total	411*	100.0

*589 persons among the street dwellers of Kanpur are without any belonging except ordinary clothes.

It is obvious from these figures that 12.4% of those street dwellers who have got some belonging have prepared huts with old pieces of gunny bags, canvas and mats. Generally they are beggars found on Guptarghat, Bhagwat Ghat, Raipurwa and other localities of the city. 9.0% of them keep their belonging over the low roof of the shops and stalls in the canal zones and these street dwellers are engaged in darana. 10.0% of them find a safe place for keeping their bundle under the wooden floor of the stalls all over the city. 16.3% of these street dwellers are allowed to keep their belongings in the corners of the shop or godowns where they work. These are mostly *palledars* engaged in loading and unloading in the godowns and shops in the busiest markets of the city.

But 20.2% of them leave their belonging under the care of their dependent. Those dependants who are old infirms or small children, unfit for assisting them in their work are assigned the duty of looking after the belongings on the footpaths during the hours when other members are away for the work. The old and infirm males or females sit for the whole day while small boys play about and look after the belonging also. 7.5% of them leave their belongings for their neighbours to look after it. They have got no other dependent for the purpose. For this purpose the beggars pay something to their neighbours who take care of their property. 11.4% leave everything without any body to look after it. They make a bundle of everything, press it with some bricks and leave on the mercy of God or hang it by the branch of some tree.

There are some such people also among these street dwellers who keep every thing with them even when they are engaged in work. They are 13.2% of the total and majority of them are beggars. They are seen packed with their belongings on their back or shoulder roaming with about the streets of Kanpur. There are some workers also who always keep their scanty belongings with them even when they are at their work.

The Familial background of Street Dwellers revealed from their case studies.

It has been revealed from their case studies of the street dwellers of Kanpur that they have been driven to Kanpur due to their appalling poverty as the following table shows it.

TABLE.

Types of home from which the street dwellers have come	Number	Percentage
Poverty stricken homes	572	57.2
Broken homes	131	13.1
Degenerated homes	123	12.3
The overcrowded homes	147	14.7
Homes having har- monious relationship	27	2.7
Total	1,000	100.0

It is clear from these figures that 57.2% of these street dwellers come from poverty stricken homes. As has already been pointed out that poverty is the root cause of their migration from the rural areas to Kanpur. Compelled by poverty they leave their homes and hearth and come to Kanpur. Agriculture has become rather unprofitable. Increasing use of agricultural machinery is generally setting free a number of workers. By migrating to the town they have been able to send monetary help for minor improvements in agriculture. 13.1% of them come from broken homes. Some females being widows or others deserted by their husbands do not find a congenial atmosphere in their homes and ultimately have to leave it. Any how they reach Kanpur and start their lives on the footpaths.

12.3% of the total sample comes from degenerated homes. Those who are diseased, dumb, blind, crippled or lepers are generally discarded by other members of the family. They find it practically impossible to live with them. They leave their homes and come to Kanpur. Some of them

come to Kanpur chiefly because it is at a long distance where their friends and relatives do not come and find them begging. 14.7% have come from the over-crowded homes. Generally they have joint families and homes are over crowded where no special attention is paid to any individual. Some times they are not properly fed. Neglected and starved they set out in search of employment. Instances are also not rare when people leave their homes without any rhyme or reason. 2.7% of the street dwellers have come from the homes having harmonious relationship. They simply come to Kanpur in the company of their friends for outing.

Gang Life of the adult Street Dwellers.

Though the economic and social life of the street dwellers in Kanpur is most unsatisfactory, yet the male adults have shown a tendency to be organised and lead a corporate life. They generally live in the company of co-workers on the street. Hindu and muslim live in different mohallas but some times they too have been found living side by side on the same street. They help each other at the time of need. They borrow and lend money, eatables, salt, utensils etc. among themselves. The big markets are closed on Sunday and these street dwellers are free on that day. They go to take bath in the river Ganga, sit together and gossip. Some *jhalliwalas* go to the station where they find some employment. Generally they take rest. They often visit other members of their villages or locality and other parts of the city. Some times they get some news from their homes through some persons who might be employed in the mill and might be living in some *ahatas* or slums.

The street dwellers do not want to observe Sunday as a holiday when the

business in the city is at stand still, they are forced to remain idle. Still rickshawpullers and others find some employment even on Sunday.

Beggars and destitutes also like street dwelling workers live in groups. They lead a corporate life on the foot-paths of the roads of Kanpur. They live on these pavements permanently as most of them have severed connection with the rural areas due to their disability or incurable disease like leprosy. Mostly they come from Eastern Districts of the State. They prefer Kanpur and no other place of religious significance because Kanpur is at a considerable distance where their relatives and acquaintances have

no easy access and as such they may take up begging without lowering themselves in the estimation of their friends and relatives. Moreover, Kanpur being the biggest industrial centre in Northern India, offers a greater scope of earning.

Recreations

These street dwelling adults of Kanpur indulge in most common and cheap types of recreation like playing cards, visit to *Nautanki*, recitation of Allaha or Ramayan or some other native ballads like *Furbi*, *Birha*, *Phag*. Visits to Cinema has become a matter of habit among the rickshawpullers as they are able to make some higher income out of rickshawpulling.

The following table shows the types of recreation indulged by the street dwellers.

TABLE

The following table shows the types of recreation indulged in by the street dwellers.

	Number	Percentage
Visit to cinema and playing cards	219	26.6
Playing cards only	160	19.5
Recitation of Ramayan and Allaha	163	19.8
Visits to <i>Nautanki</i>	183	22.3
Ganga-Ashnan at the time of some fair	97	11.8
Total	822	100.00

It is obvious from these figures that 26.6% of the total number of male adults visit cinema. This includes mostly rickshawpullers. The income of rickshawpuller is comparatively higher than any other class of street dwellers in Kanpur so they can afford to visit cinemas quite often. Cinema going is very common specially among the youngsters. They are so much accustomed to visit cinema that most of them do not take a full meal and save money for the picture. Not only this they borrow money and visit cinema. It is the only means of recreation among them. It has so much affected them that during day time while pulling rickshaws they talk about their favourite heroes or heroines as Nargis, Meenakumari, Raj Kapoor, and Dilip Kumar. Often they try to imitate them in their actions and movement or sing some song in the same tunes. Playing cards is also common among the street dwellers as 19.5% of them are habituated of it. Those street dwellers whose income is lower and cannot afford to visit pictures because of their other pressing needs indulge in reciting Ramayan or Allahas in case of Hindus or *Kavali* in case of Muslims. Beggars sing *Bhajans* (religious songs).

Generally these street dwellers or thelapullers visit *nautanki*, when it is held in the locality and they constitute 22.3% of the total male adults. The rest 11.8% visit Gangaji on the occasion of some fair or festival. They are elderly people who revere Gangaji and are religious minded people. Muslim workers and some beggars have been found offering *Namaz* five times daily but they are very few and the majority does not attach much importance to the religion due to their extreme poverty.

Thus we can conclude that recreations etc. are meant for those who have got plenty to spend and not for the

poor who cannot easily earn their bread and salt. How strange it is to talk of their recreation and social life when they are not even sure of their next meal. They are homeless people hardly able to fill their bellies.

Decreations :

Most of the street dwellers as they come from the rural areas, do not find healthy environment in Kanpur. They do not find any regular employment and as such are unable to arrange for a satisfactory dwelling place. They are very much worried constantly. They do not get proper diet and often the climate of Kanpur does not suit them. At times they fall ill and catch malaria or several other diseases. They are not properly clad and hence cannot avoid the evil effects of the dingy and dirty atmosphere of the city. The impact of city life generally results in deteriorating their condition from bad to worse.

As it has already been mentioned, they leave their wives and children in the villages and come to Kanpur all alone. The predominance of males on these pavements of Kanpur encourages prostitution. It is the only means of satisfying their sexual urge. The workers develop intimacy either with the professional prostitutes or some females of the locality by spending some money. The rates of the prostitutes of Kanpur are as low as -/4/- which the low paid workers can afford very easily. Rickshaw pullers of Kanpur are proverbially notorious in this respect. As in all other towns so in Kanpur, these rickshawpullers are mostly disorganised. They are associated with all the gangs supplying girls. They are the main source of all troubles created in connection with the girls' schools. Trafficking of women is possible only through rickshaw-

pullers. There are concrete proofs not only in Kanpur but in all big cities that rickshawpullers are acquainted with private and professional women carrying immoral professions. It is a strong belief that most of the evils may be wiped out if richshawpulling is totally prohibited. Even the police constables are the party with these rickshawpullers and they create troubles deliberately.

Prostitution is quite open among beggars. These beggars develop intimacy with begging women on payment of very nominal price. It is a common sight on the Kanpur pavements that the young begging girl's and women have got babies. This is a clear proof that promiscuous relations exist among the beggars. These beggar women indulge in loose sexual unions with every body and any body who is ready to pay them only -/2/- or -/4/- without any distinction of caste and community.

Gambling among Street Dwelling Adults :

Gambling is another evil of the gang life of these street dwellers. Though the gamblers are punished by law and every possible effort is made by the Government to discourage this habit yet it still prevails on a large scale among the street dwellers. Rickshawpullers, thelapullers, *jhalliwalas* and beggars are all addicted to gambling and it prevails everywhere in one form or the other. Even the new comers from the rural areas are victims of gambling as they have to live in the company of the co-workers on the pavements.

Alcoholism among the Street Dwelling Adults :

Kanpur is dry area and the sale and purchase or use of liquor is strictly prohibited. But the legislation cannot

change the habits of the addicts so soon. If liquor is not available, they find its substitute in other things. Thus the liquor has been replaced by so many things as denatured spirit, ginger, country made liquor available everywhere. It is a common saying that the use of liquor has increased since the prohibition. Kanpur is dry area but Lucknow which is only 45 miles away is not dry area. Mostly the addicts rush up to Lucknow on Sundays and quench their thirst to their heart's content.

Country made liquor called "*Tharrah*" and other intoxicants are smuggled through the beggars and sadhus, the boatmen on several ghats and many other agencies. Liquor is openly available at Permat in the know of every public man. There are regular shops of liquor in Unnao district just closed to Ganga bridge where every evening addicts assemble and indulge in drinking. Kalyanpur is a good market for country made liquor from where any body can bring it and it is smuggled into the city openly. Use of ginger is in vogue everywhere in the city.

Rickshawpullers are also the agents of liquor and other intoxicants smuggled at various places. Among the street dwelling population of Kanpur rickshawpullers are most notorious for all sorts of evils. But *jhalliwalas*, thelawalas and other miscellaneous classes among these street dwellers lead a life of extreme poverty and want. They cannot feed themselves twice a day, nothing to talk of intoxicants and other things. They can hardly afford for such luxuries. These poor and depressed people are addicts of *biris*, raw tobacco mixed with lime, tobacco smoking through *chilam* and some times they take *pan* etc. and exchange it often as social custom among themselves.

Night Life of the Street Dwelling Adults :

Generally the workers who are employed in miscellaneous jobs are free after sunset. But rickshawpullers and *jhalliwalas* are free by 9 p.m. in the night. They purchase their food from the roadside hawkers. A small number of workers and beggars cook their food with their own hands. Those who have to cook their food begin cooking generally after sunset on the pavements. They have no fixed time. Some of them cook their food in the morning and keep it for evening also while others prepare in the evening when they are free from their work. Hence the dinner time on the pavements is between 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. Beggars who do not go on begging in the evening and stay on ghats finish their cooking before sunset as it would be very difficult for them to cook in the darkness. They, after cooking, clean their utensils also so everything they do before it is dark. There are certain lepers and physically handicapped beggars who are unable to cook their meals themselves and they cannot afford to purchase it daily as such they pay some money to their neighbours to prepare their meals. Some times they have to pay the full meal to the cook and only then he or she is ready to do the work. As the beggars get grains, flour; pulse, rice etc. it is often easier to pay the full meal to the other beggars who cook the meal.

After the dinner time is over, the pavement dwellers assemble around a fire place for the evening chat. This is very important. Before going to bed they must assemble and enjoy the common *chilam* of ordinary tobacco or *ganja* or *charas*. Generally beggars smoke *ganja* or *charas* but it is done some times secretly from the police constables and some times by their

knowledge. It is common belief that all anti-social activities are done with the knowledge of these policemen. Their hand is very important behind these nefarious activities. They often get lion's share of it.

Normally after the meals and ordinary evening chat the workers who are overtired go to sleep for the night. Some youngster might go to enjoy *nautanki*—a dancing party in the locality or some *kirtan*, *ramlila*, a marriage procession or visit brothels. The brothel areas in the city flourish only at the cost of these workers who leave their wives in the village and come to Kanpur all alone. The workers are the frequent visitors of these brothels. The doctors in the various localities specially in the labour areas and slum areas bear testimony to the fact that 95% of the workers visiting brothels suffer from various diseases. They catch it and take it to their villages and infect their wives too. They often fall prey into the hands of quacks who have several powers as solution to cure the V. D. within 24 hours. The workers are deceived in various ways by going in cheap types of medicines. Even when they visit doctors, they can afford only as -/8/- or Re. 1/- for their treatment. Some time they feel degraded in going to doctor and getting them cured. They secretly use some medicines which does less good than the amount spent for it. They become permanent victims of V. D. in absence of proper medical aid and their ignorance.

They generally get up early in the morning so that they may be able to utilise the public latrines and urinals before these latrines are over-crowded. Often they have to wait in que for a long time. Some time they use the open space of the locality or the roadsides or corners for the purpose. This is very hard and fills the locality with

stinking smells. It becomes the cause of epidemics which take the heavy toll of human life. Before sunrise they are ready for the days work. Some of them even prepare their food and take it. *jhalliwalas* reach *mandi* early in the morning where they are engaged in taking loads of vegetables and fruits to the various markets of the city. Beggars, line up along the road sides leading to various ghats where people daily visit in large numbers to take holy dip in gangaji.

Some time the workers on the pavements visit other localities where they have got their acquaintances or other members of village. This is done on sundays when the business in the market is closed and the *jhalliwalas*, rickshawpullers and thelapullers are

free. They get time to enjoy the company of the members of their community who might be employed in mills and other establishments and living in some *ahatas* or labour *bustees*. They also try to get some regular employment and at times they grease the palm of the sardars or supervisors whose recommendation is very essential in getting enrolled as regular workers.

They also participate in the meetings of their communities known as "*Biradari Panchayat*" when some matter pertaining to their community is discussed. This panchayat is like court and its decisions are final and every body has to adhere to them otherwise he may be regarded as an out-caste and punished severally.

RECIDIVISM AND ITS PREVENTION

By

N.G. CHATURVEDI, M.L.C.

A paper read in Seminar on Correctional Administration sponsored by the All India Crime Prevention-Society, Lucknow, February 5—7, 1960.

Recidivism means relapse of criminal behaviour after diagnostic treatment. It is a dangerous signal, in-as-much as the offender has not responded to the treatment, necessitating a re-appraisal of the disease along with its deep lying multifarious causative and predisposing factors as well as evaluation of the treatment techniques evolved during the course of ages.

I suppose we have reached an era of development in correctional science when we no more believe in punishment as of any therapeutic value. From punishment we have started talking of 'treatment' though I have my doubts whether the word 'treatment' conveys to us the precise operations. I also feel that many of the technical instructions for the personnel are couched in vague terms. For instance Edwn H. Suther Land and Donald R. Creasey in their book 'Principles of Crim nology' observe : "The objective in probation work is to change the attitude of probationers. A scientific technique for the modification of attitudes has yet to be worked out. Instead of descriptions of techniques we find such statements as 'by gaining the confidence and friendship of the young man, through friendly admonition and encouragement,' 'by

stimulating the probationer's self-respect, ambition and thrift' and 'by relieving emotional' tensions'. It is necessary to know how confidence is secured, or how ambition is stimulated, or how tensions are reduced, and also to know how these processes produce reformation." This goes to show that we have not so far attained any satisfactory level of technique development.

This much for techniques, in short. Now, let us come to the purpose. The purpose is complete reformation as against punishment, which has been found of no value or deterrence and this new theory of rehabilitation raises a new series of complicated problems at all levels of Correctional Administration. It lays emphasis on individual treatment after thoroughly understanding the personality, its various constituents, its depth and potentialities as also the milieu and the surrounding environments.

Man is supposed to be the ultimate creation of God, with the far flung limits of "almost divine" and "almost animal and base" propensities. As is easily intelligible, the range of variations is vast. And when one understands that each person is unique, it adds a well-high impossibility to the task. On turning to the causative and predisposing factors for crime, we come across multifarious factors, external, internal and Socio-Economic which instead of simplifying, make the problem very complex indeed. All the same, as the

only cure for the disease is some sort of treatment, a suitable treatment is to be evolved, not on the nature of the offence but on the conditions of the offender.

Recidivism poses a challenge for the society and causes great economic and social loss. Also it strikes one at this stage as to why one should not try for prevention instead of allowing the complications to break out in overt crime and then think of the necessary treatment and cure.

In my opinion it is easier to handle the juvenile when the pattern of Criminality has not set in. The Child for instance for want of security and recognition breaks out into anti-social behaviour and with co-ordination of the family, school, police and ultimately the Juvenile Court, the drift in his attitude can be completely cured.

Recently the age-old system of sentencing and subsequent parole practices have come under criticism. People have already started having their doubts if these well established techniques are really preventive of recidivism and have grave doubts about their real worth. They say that, as the causative factors are multifarious, there must be multifarious approaches to the understanding, trial and treatment of criminal behaviour. And, as such, many types of therapy, apart from punitive, are necessary to bring permanent changes in ethical attitudes and behaviour tendencies. Re-definition of aims in correctional administration call for a re-design of correctional techniques and instruments.

Consensus of opinion, more or less, recommends a programme of procedure as laid down below :

- (i) Judging and sentencing authorities should be different. Assessment of guilt should be entrusted to the judge or the legal expert.
- (ii) The sentencing part - which will now tantamount to treatment should be left to a body or tribunal specially qualified for interpretation and evaluation of Sociological and Psychological attitudes.
- (iii) The treatment programme and its progress must needs be regularly checked and modified at regular intervals.
- (iv) The personnel needed for this responsibility should be adequately qualified and should have aptitude for their task and should work in a spirit of dedication.
- (v) Special care should be taken to safeguard the rights of the prisoner against any possibility of arbitrariness or perverse behaviour on the part of the authorities.
- (vi) Reasonable after-care and support for a limited period after discharge from the Correctional Institution.

The phenomenon of Recidivism occurs between certain age limits. There is evidence to support the contention that a stage arrives also for a habitual when there is a feeling of "enough" and he would gladly turn over a new page. I presume that acquisition of certain amount of maturity and wisdom, as age advances, pre-disposes one to change in criminal behaviour. But however it may be,

the external factors and the social 'mores' and conditions are also to be kept in view. If criminal or anti-social tendencies and beliefs find place in society, no point arises in discussing or trying to cure Recidivism. No doubt there is a certain section of thought which envisages the society as the real oppressor and the prisoner as the victim. I could not do better than quote the fearless giant amongst writers, George Bernard Shaw :

"We may take it, then, that the thief who is in prison is not necessarily more dishonest than his fellows at large, but mostly only one who through ignorance or stupidity, steals in a way that is not customary. He snatches a loaf from the baker's counter and is promptly run into goal. Another man snatches bread from the tables of hundreds of widows and orphans and simple credulous souls who do not know the ways of company promoters; and, as likely as not, he is run into Parliament. You may say that the remedy for this is not to spare the lesser offender but to punish the greater; but there you miss my present point, which is, that as the great majority of prisoners are not a bit more dishonest naturally than thousands of people who are not only at liberty, but highly hampered, it is no use telling me that society will fall into anarchic dissolution if these unlucky prisoners are treated with common humanity. On the contrary, when we see the out-rageous extent to

which the most shamelessly selfish rogues and rascals can be granted not only impunity but encouragement and magnificent remuneration, we are tempted to ask ourselves have we any right to restrain anyone at all from doing his worst to us. The first prison I ever saw had inscribed on it "Cease to Do Evil : Learn to Do Well"; but as the inscription was on the outside, the prisoners could not read it. It should have been addressed to the self-righteous free spectator in the street, and should have run "All Have Sinned, and Fallen Short of the Glory of God"....Much of the difference between the bond and the free is a difference in circumstances only : if a man is not hungry and his children are ailing only because they are too well fed, nobody can tell whether he would steal a loaf if his children were crying for bread and he himself had not tasted a mouthful for twenty-four hours. Therefore, if you are in an attitude of moral superiority to our convicts; if you are one of the Serve Them Right and Give Them Hell Brigade, you may justly be invited, in your own vernacular, either to Come Off it, or else Go Inside and take the measure you are meeting out to others no worse than yourself." (Crime of Imprisonment.)

This naturally makes us think and wonder if we are suited to judge at all.

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